# THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1870-1871

## MINUTES

THIS VOLUME contains the Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (the First International) from 19 July 1870 to 24 October 1871, together with documents issued by the General Council in the same period. Among the latter is *The Civil War in France*, a summary of the experience of the Paris Commune written by Karl Marx on General Council instructions and addressed to all members of the International in Europe and the United States of America.

This is the fourth of a five-volume collection of the Documents of the First International from its foundation in 1864. It was prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to mark the Centenary of the foundation of the International.

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# Documents of

# THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

1870 * 1871

VOLUME IV

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM OF THE C.C., C.P.S.U.

# DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

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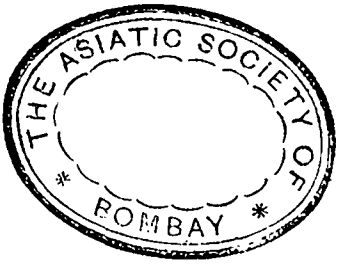


1870-1871

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# THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1870-1871

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## MINUTES

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS · MOSCOW

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# PREFACE

The Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, published in this volume for the first time in the language of the original, cover the period from July 19, 1870 to October 24, 1871; these Minutes continue the three volumes already issued by Progress Publishers, Moscow—*The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference, 1865, Minutes*; *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*; and *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870. Minutes.*

The Minutes and other documents included in this volume are a valuable source for a study of the history of the international working-class movement on the verge of the new era ushered in by the Paris Commune, the first ever workers' state. For the International Working Men's Association and its General Council this was a time of serious trial when the viability of their links with the people and the dedication of leading workers from different countries to the International's principles were put to the test. The Minutes reveal the struggle conducted by the General Council to instil a spirit of proletarian internationalism in the working class, to reinforce the International ideologically and organisationally against all forms of petty-bourgeois opportunism, both "Left" and Right-wing, and to prepare for the founding of independent workers' parties. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels took an active part in this struggle.

Engels comes to the fore here for the first time as a direct participant in the General Council's work and as a close associate of Marx in guiding the International. Earlier, because of his residence in Manchester, Engels was not on the General Council, but he constantly helped Marx by advice and theoretical writing. In September 1870 Engels moved down to London and on October 4, 1870 was elected onto the Council (see p. 66); he took over a large part of the Council's organisational work.

In his capacity as Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Italy and Spain, Engels kept in touch with the workers' leaders in these countries; he was responsible for many of the General Council's important documents and resolutions; with Marx he fought against every petty-bourgeois trend in the International. His work on the General Council during the Paris Commune and prior to and during the 1871 London Conference was particularly invaluable.

During the Franco-Prussian war, between July 1870 and February 1871, the International had to combat the wave of chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism that threatened to divert the working-class movement from class struggle to "civil peace" and class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The fight for an independent proletarian stand in international affairs had always greatly occupied the General Council's attention. Now, this became one of the central tasks of the first international mass proletarian organisation; the General Council had to counteract both chauvinism and the nihilist attitude to questions of national unity and national independence. The first General Council meeting after the outbreak of the war debated the question of issuing anti-war addresses.

Written by Marx, the first address of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian war outlined the tactics of the working class in the first phase of the war, which was decisive for Germany's national unification. The address

stressed the need to strengthen the unity of the proletariat throughout the world.

The General Council took great pains to have this important document distributed far and wide. This is evident, in particular, from the list of persons and organisations in Britain and the United States the address was sent to (pp. 36-37), and from the measures taken by the General Council to have it translated into German and French and distributed in the countries in the war (pp. 33, 44-45, 49). The widespread anti-war movement of workers in France, Germany, Spain, the U.S.A. and elsewhere finds its expression in the Minutes (pp. 30, 38, 43, 51).

At different stages of the Franco-Prussian war, the General Council put to the workers, in both the belligerent and the neutral countries, definite tasks depending on the current international balance of forces and political shifts in individual countries. These tactics were motivated by a desire to ensure the most favourable conditions for the further development of the working-class movement, to strengthen the international unity of the proletariat, and to ensure the workers the leading role in all democratic, progressive movements.

In the second phase of the war, when Louis Napoleon's regime crumbled after the Sedan defeat and France was declared a Republic, the annexationist plans of the Prussian militarists became obvious and the war turned into a war of conquest on the part of Germany. On September 9, 1870, the General Council issued its second address on the Franco-Prussian war. The European workers were called upon to fight for the recognition of the French Republic and for an honourable peace without annexations (pp. 333-42). The German Social-Democrats and leading workers joined this struggle (pp. 62, 79), as did the sections of the International in the United States (pp. 81-83, 87) and elsewhere. The General Council also helped to give an organised form to the campaign of the British workers to make their

government recognise the French Republic. General Council members attended mass meetings in support of the Republic and did what they could to get the General Council's point of view adopted (p. 60). They took an active part in sending a deputation of British workers and democrats, representing about a hundred trade unions and other organisations, to British Prime Minister Gladstone (pp. 63-64, 65). The campaign helped to bring out more clearly the opportunist sentiments of the trade union leaders, which told on its scope, and to strengthen the revolutionary traditions among the best representatives of the British working class.

Marx and Engels strove tirelessly to give a class-conscious character to the workers' battle against the militarist and annexationist policy of the ruling circles in the belligerent countries. Marx emphasised the need to acquaint the workers with the secrets of the bourgeois governments' foreign policy (p. 65). He encouraged members of the General Council to take a class approach to foreign policy issues (pp. 57-58), and to beware of petty-bourgeois illusions (pp. 106-07). Of particular importance was discussion of the British workers' position in the current phase of the war; this took place at Council meetings between January 31 and February 21, 1871. During this discussion, Marx and Engels and their supporters opposed attempts by bourgeois radicals and petty-bourgeois democrats to take control of the movement for the recognition of the French Republic (pp. 128-29). Marx exposed the counter-revolutionary essence of the French Government of National Defence which had gained praise from reformist leaders of the British trade unions.

Details of speeches by General Council members made at Council meetings and published in reports in *The Eastern Post* (from January 1871 organ of the General Council), helped to get the Council's policy across to the British and other workers. In organising anti-militarist actions by the

working class, the Council did not spurn co-operation with different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois bodies which were sincerely campaigning against the war.

The results of the struggle for unity of action of the world proletariat, which the General Council had conducted from the very beginning of the International, showed in full measure during the days of the Paris Commune. The solidarity movement of the European workers with the proletarian revolution in Paris appeared at the time as the highest form of proletarian internationalism. Marx, Engels and their colleagues on the General Council were confronted with the task of showing the working class the great, historic significance of the Paris Commune, of turning the frequently instinctive sympathy of workers in the different countries for the Communards into conscious support of the first ever proletarian state which was essentially a spiritual offspring of the International. When the Commune was proclaimed, the General Council openly declared its cause to be the cause of all workers and strove to explain the nature of the Paris revolution and to organise support from the whole international proletariat.

At the March 21, 1871 meeting, Engels made a big speech about the Paris revolution (pp. 160-61) and from then on he and Marx kept the Council members informed on the course of events in Paris, explained the essence of the Commune's social and economic policy, criticised its errors and decried the atrocities of Versailles. Another important battle was that against the slander campaign in the bourgeois press trying to distort the real purpose of the Commune's activity and ready to stoop to any falsification to further this aim. The printed reports of the General Council meetings at this time reproduce the speeches of Marx and Engels and other documents, exposing the lies and inventions of the bourgeois papers, often in greater detail than in the Minutes. This gives some indication of how the

General Council got the truth about the Commune through to the workers, especially in Britain.

The General Council endeavoured to arrange a direct link with the Paris Commune. Council member Auguste Serraillier was dispatched to Paris as the General Council's representative (p. 163) with whom the Council maintained more or less regular contact (pp. 176, 184). The Russian revolutionary and heroine of the Paris Commune Yelizaveta Dmitriyeva (Tomanovskaya) sent the Council various information (p. 184). Attempts were also made to establish permanent contact through a messenger (p. 180).

The Minutes clearly bring out the enthusiasm felt by workers all over the world by the proclamation of the Paris Commune. The Council was constantly receiving information about solidarity meetings (pp. 200, 203).

The experience of the Commune was summed up in *The Civil War in France*, written by Marx on General Council instructions, and addressed to all members of the International in Europe and the United States of America (pp. 356-416).

The address *The Civil War in France* is a rousing condemnation of those who exterminated the Commune, an immortal monument to the Commune's cause and its heroes. It is an important contribution to the Marxist teaching on the state, revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat; it reveals the substance of the Commune's activities as a state of dictatorship by the proletariat, and the specific features of the fundamentally new type of state intended to replace the old bourgeois state apparatus.

The General Council put great store by the distribution of this work; it was issued in London in three English editions between June and August 1871. On Marx's suggestion the price of the second edition was reduced so as "to circulate the address as widely as possible among the working class" (p. 225). A special handbill was also issued announcing its publication and calling on British workers to read

it (between pp. 224 and 225). The Minutes testify to the wide circulation of translations of *The Civil War in France* in the different countries and to the approval accorded it by leading workers (pp. 234, 238, 258).

*The Civil War in France* evoked a torrent of scurrilous articles in the bourgeois newspapers attempting to undermine the authority of the International and its General Council among the workers, and to vilify the socialist ideas which the Paris Commune had begun to put into practice. Between June and August 1871 the General Council published several statements written by Marx and Engels refuting allegations in the bourgeois press. It also arranged for the British journalist Robert Reid, who was in Paris at the time, to make a round-Britain lecture tour on the Commune and to distribute *The Civil War in France* during his tour (p. 228).

The General Council enlarged its composition by a substantial group of the Commune's refugees "whose election was a tribute to the Paris Commune" (*Les Prétendues Scissions dans l'Internationale*. See *The General Council. 1871-1872*).

The Council also paid serious attention to arranging practical assistance for the Communards who had managed to leave France and who generally found themselves in difficult financial straits. The Council had already discussed this issue at a meeting on May 23, 1871 (pp. 201-02). After the Commune's defeat, the General Council rendered material aid to the Commune's refugees first from its own modest resources, and then from a general collection. It set up a fund for them and sent out lists to be signed (pp. 221, 226, 237, 256-57). The General Council had to combat petty-bourgeois elements among the refugees in London who attempted to use the money for their own, group interests (pp. 239-40, 263-66).

The Paris Commune sharply brought out two trends that had been revealed earlier in the International: the revolu-

tionary-proletarian trend, on the one hand, and the petty-bourgeois, sectarian-reformist trend, on the other. The General Council expelled the Proudhonist Tolain from the International as a traitor to the working class (p. 355). Odger and Lucraft, reformist trade union leaders, openly went over to the bourgeoisie, left the General Council and began attacks on the Council and the Paris Commune.

Several Council declarations penned by Marx and Engels exposed the real purpose behind the slander campaign against the International, in the conduct of which an objective alignment was formed between the reformist trade union leaders, bourgeois democrats and the official government press of Europe and the United States. The fall of the Commune was a signal for a wide-scale attack from reaction on the European working class and its organisation, the International Association.

Repression and slander, however, could not stifle the working-class movement or destroy the International. The Minutes published in this volume bear ample witness to the spread of the ideas of the International and the Paris Commune, to the adherence to the Association of new workers' organisations and the formation of sections of the International Working Men's Association in more and more countries. The Minutes mention the formation of sections or the desire to set up sections in places where the International's influence had previously been weak (The Hague, New Orleans and San Francisco) or where it had been totally absent (Christchurch in New Zealand and Calcutta in India). In its reply to Calcutta, the General Council urged "the necessity of enrolling natives in the Association" (p. 258).

In *Britain*, despite the withdrawal of the reformist trade union leaders from the International, it gained the membership of the Birmingham and Manchester Trades Councils (pp. 90, 105); the adherence of the Manchester Council was largely due to the efforts of General Council member

Eugène Dupont. The International's influence on the British workers was apparent from the widespread assistance they rendered, at the General Council's appeal, to the Antwerp cigar-makers who were on strike. The backing given by the General Council and sections of the International on the Continent to British engineers during their big strike in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the summer and autumn of 1871, also raised the Association's prestige. Marx, Engels and their supporters on the General Council conducted a policy of strengthening links with the trade unions showing them, by their own experience, that the pledge of success of their economic struggle lay in forging firm links with the International. They fought to free the British working-class movement from the influence of reformist leaders and bourgeois radicals who were endeavouring to use it for their own ends. As the republican movement in Britain grew, Marx, Engels and their supporters, in their speeches in the Council, urged the British workers not to forget the ultimate aim of the working-class movement and at the same time warned them against underestimating bourgeois-democratic liberties (p. 165). Marx and Engels set great hopes in the British Federal Council, formed by decision of the 1871 London Conference and intended to become the organising centre in the fight for an independent workers' party in Britain.

In this period, too, Marx and Engels paid much attention to combating nationalistic prejudice against the Irish. They supported the formation of Irish sections of the International in England and cleared the way for the co-option of the well-known Irish national leader, John Mac Donnell, to the General Council, and later his appointment as Corresponding Secretary for Ireland. In his speech on March 14, 1871, concerning the position of the British working class during the Franco-Prussian war, Marx said that "as long as the split between the English and Irish

work-people lasted, the ruling classes would have the power to keep down both" (p. 157).

No small contribution to the education of the British workers in an internationalist spirit was made by the regular information given at the Council meetings about the working-class movement abroad, based on letters sent to the Council and on workers' papers from other countries. This information was constantly included in the printed reports of the Council meetings and thus got through to the British workers, paralysing to some extent the influence of the bourgeois press.

The General Council maintained relations with the working-class movement in *Germany* through the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which was a branch of the International. Marx and Engels upheld the courageous struggle of the German Social-Democrats against Prussian militarism, their actions against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and in defence of the Commune, and constantly kept the Council members informed of the activities of Bebel, Liebknecht and other German workers' leaders. The General Council protested vigorously at the police persecution of the German Social-Democrats. On Marx's initiative a collection was begun for aid to families of political prisoners (p. 103). In the General Council Marx and Engels criticised the sectarian, nationalistic position of the Lassallean leader Schweitzer which, in fact, was very close to that of extreme reactionaries (p. 79).

The General Council directed a good deal of attention to the growing labour movement in the *United States*. In 1870 and 1871, a large number of sections sprang up there chiefly among immigrant workers and then among long-standing Americans. The Minutes show how much time was spent discussing the question on the International's Central Committee for the United States, established in December 1870 on the basis of the amalgamation of the French, German and Czech sections of New York. Aiming to draw the main body

of workers into the International, especially long-standing Americans, Marx warned the Central Committee against restricting the International's activity in America to immigrant workers (pp. 82, 87, 108, 146-48). The Committee did much to organise and strengthen the International's sections in the U.S.A., to support the Paris Commune, and to publish and distribute the International's documents. The General Council's statement concerning the provocative action of Washburne, American Ambassador in Paris, during the Commune found wide support in the United States (p. 258).

The General Council attentively followed the sharp ideological struggle taking place in the International sections in *Switzerland* and considered it the main task of the Swiss sections to isolate the Bakuninists and heal the split they had caused in April 1870 in the Romance Federation. The splitting activities of the Bakuninists came under fire at General Council meetings (pp. 29, 39, 111). The Council condemned the chauvinist vacillation during the Franco-Prussian war of the newspaper *Felleisen*, organ of the German workers' educational associations in Switzerland (p. 106).

During the period under review, the General Council made permanent contacts with the International's sections in *Italy* and *Spain*. Engels played a big part in this; in his correspondence with International leaders in these countries he exposed the great harm of the anarchist dogma of abstaining from politics, pointed to the need to ward off the influence of bourgeois republicans on the young working-class movement and give it a more independent proletarian character.

The Russian section in Geneva greatly helped the General Council in fighting the Bakuninists, especially while preparing for the London Conference and at its sessions. It helped Marx to uncover the adventurist actions of the anarchist Nechayev who was abusing the name of the International. In September-November 1870 the General

Council gained a new member in Lopatin, Russian revolutionary and friend of Marx.

The Minutes devote a large amount of space to questions connected with the London Conference of the International (September 17-23, 1871), with its preparation and the publication of its documents.

The 1871 London Conference was an important stage in the struggle of Marx and Engels for the triumph of the principles of Marxism in the International's programmatic documents. Experience of the Paris Commune showed that to achieve its victory the working class needed a political party of its own with a programme based on scientific socialism. After the Commune there was a growing separation of two marked trends—the petty-bourgeois, reformist, sectarian trend on the one hand, and the proletarian, revolutionary trend on the other. This necessitated the complete ideological defeat of all the anti-proletarian trends (especially Bakuninism) in the working-class movement and the embodiment in the International programmatic documents of everything the International gained from activity among the masses and of the Commune's experience.

The reaction that set in made it impossible to convene the regular International congress (set for Mainz, September 1870, and postponed because of the war until 1871); the General Council, therefore, accepted on July 25, 1871 Engels's proposal to call a private Conference of the Association in London.

Preparations for the Conference in the Council were marked by sharp conflict with the Bakuninists and reformists. Marx, Engels and their supporters managed to have included in the agenda the important question of the organisation and tactics of the International (p. 259). The General Council took measures to make the coming Conference a truly representative one (pp. 268-71).

Since Conference resolutions—unlike the resolutions of the general congresses and of the General Council—were not

binding, the resolutions adopted by the London Conference (1871) were left for ratification by the next Congress and had to be conveyed to the various sections in the form of a General Council circular. The Council devoted several meetings up to October 24, 1871 to adopting the final version of the Conference resolutions and approving the circular, which is published here (pp. 440-50).

Of particular importance for the development of the working-class movement was the General Council's official publication, on the London Conference's decision, of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association with the changes and additions made at International congresses. Prepared for publication by Marx and Engels, the authentic text of the Rules and Regulations in English, German and French, printed shortly after the Conference, played a great part in spreading the ideological and organisational principles of the International (pp. 451-69). It put an end to the confusion deliberately introduced into the International's programmatic documents by petty-bourgeois, anti-proletarian elements.

The section of this book entitled "From the Manuscripts of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels" includes Engels's records of three meetings of the Sub-Committee: on June 11, 1871, devoted to discussion of the Council's statement against Jules Favre's circular; on September 9 and 11, 1871, concerned with preparations for the London Conference—all these Minutes are published here in the original for the first time. Also included are propositions to the General Council for preparing the London Conference and preliminary drafts of the London Conference resolutions.

The section "Documents of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" contains important General Council documents for the period from July 1870 to October 1871. The majority of them were written by Marx and Engels.

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The complete text of the Minutes of the General Council for the period July 19, 1870 to October 24, 1871 is published here for the first time in the original from a photocopy of the Minute Book in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U., Moscow.

The Minutes of the General Council meetings between July 19, 1870 and October 24, 1871 were recorded on 229 foolscap pages by Eccarius and, after his resigning as secretary on May 16, 1871, by Hales.

The footnotes show the condition of the manuscript, the peculiarities of the record and other textological remarks; they also give the names of persons not mentioned in the text itself, references to other pages in the text, etc.

The Appendix contains the English translation of General Council documents written in other languages.

The editorial notes at the end of the book contain more extensive explanations. In the compilation of the notes use has first and foremost been made of the Marx-Engels correspondence, their letters to others, and the correspondence between members of the General Council and leaders of the International. Wide use has been made of documents of local sections of the Association and matter from the International's press, in particular newspaper reports of General Council meetings published in *The Bee-Hive*, *The Eastern Post* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*.

The contents of the present volume and their arrangement correspond to the Russian edition of 1965 prepared for publication by Vladimir Mosolov, Antonina Koroteyeva, Tatyana Vassilieva and Marina Zhelnova, under the general editorship of Irene Bach, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The originals for the English edition have been deciphered by Nina Nepomnyashchaya, of the Institute of

Marxism-Leninism, and the volume has been prepared for publication by our editor, Lydia Belyakova.

No alterations have been made in the text, apart from corrections of obvious slips of the pen, misspelt words, and biographical and geographical names. Most of the abbreviations have been written out in full, and in some places supplementary words in square brackets have been inserted to render the text clearer to the modern reader.

# THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

*(July 19, 1870-October 24, 1871)*

## [1870]

### *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*July 19*

Members present: *Bora*, *Eccarius*, *Hales J.*, *Hales W.*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Murray*, *Lucraft*, *Pfänder*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** announced the receipt of a letter from the shoemakers on strike at Mayence requesting the strike to be made known in England.[1]

Cit. *Jung* had received a letter from Geneva thanking the Council for the resolution.[2] They had had to contend against intrigues, the resolution would support them. The Geneva bourgeoisie was shocked at the watchmakers supporting the building trades locked out.[3]

At Naples a new section of the International had been founded by police agents.

The resolution of the Council had been telegraphed from Geneva to Bakunin. Cit. Jung asked for instructions that the resolution be published in the Continental papers.[4] Agreed.

He had communicated to Chaux-de-Fonds that if they preached total abstinence from politics that would disqualify them from being administrators.

A letter from Paris stated that in April the Paris Federation had consisted of 10 societies, it now consisted of 36 and there were new ones in course of formation. Ten had

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 88-90 of the third Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

paid their contributions to the Council; a 100 fr. note was enclosed in the letter.

The newspaper experiment cost £16. The first edition had only been delivered when sent by post in single copies; parcels by rail had been confiscated; the second edition all confiscated.[5] The report of the trial would be published in pamphlet form and copies sent to the Council.[6]

Labour statistics were in progress.

A letter from Murat stated the prosecution had not frightened the International: it would raise its [head] again and the next time not to be put down.

A letter from Brest stated that two members had been arrested, undressed, searched, kept in prison for 28 days, then discharged. One of them was also discharged from his work in the arsenal and lost his pension, the other expected to be served the same.

Cit. *Marx* communicated a private letter about absence of war feeling in the French provinces and the manufactured enthusiasm at Paris, and translated some passages from the anti-war address of the Paris section.[7] He also reminded the Council that the Finance Committee had not as yet produced any report.

A letter from Dupont expressed a hope that the Council would issue a declaration against the war.

Cit. *Hales* stated the Finance Committee had not done its duty; it had prepared no report and proposed nothing.

After a few explanations it was agreed that it should meet the following Saturday.

Cit. *Jung* reported that the Council of the Engineers had not decided how they would send the money to Paris.[8]

Cit. *Hales* proposed that Marx should be appointed to draw up an address against the war.

Cit. *Marx* said before anything could be done the members must express their opinion. The Council could not issue an address like the Parisian, it must be international.

Cit. *Murray* was against war as such. The working people had nothing to fight for.

The *Chairman** said the members were to state their opinions to serve Marx as a guide. We might be neutral by disliking both parties, might be for peace at any price; he felt ashamed that the millions had not the power to stop the war. We ought to let the world know that we would stop it if we could.

Cit. *Hales* wished to have it pointed out that it was dangerous to leave it to a few to decide upon peace and war, and that it was the people's own fault it was so.

Cit. *Milner* said that [the] same objection must be made to any other power as to Napoleon.

Cit. *Marx*: we could not entertain the general war question, only the special case.

Cit. *Hales* then proposed and *Weston* seconded that Cit. Marx be commissioned to draw up the address and issue [it] with the approval of the Sub-Committee.[9] Carried.

The Council adjourned at 20 m. past 11.

*JOHN WESTON*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING***

*July 26*[10]

Members present: *Applegarth*, *Bora*, *Boon*, *Hales J.*, *Hales W.*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Murray*, *Harris*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney*, *Stoll*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read [and] confirmed.

Cit. *Serraillier* announced that six members of the Associa-

* Lucraft.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 91-94 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

tion had been condemned to imprisonment and fines at Brest and their association dissolved. The same statements respecting Mazzini and Pyat had been made by the prosecution as at Paris.[11] The Brussels paper* had been declared by the prosecution the official paper of the French section.

Cit. *Marx* announced that 15 other members, amongst whom was Tolain, had been selected by the French Government for a police prosecution at Paris.

At Lyons the military had been employed to suppress a peace demonstration. In Alsace there were about 40,000 workmen on strike who cared nothing about the war, but what was most remarkable was [that] the operatives of the firm of Dollfus, who in all English reports was mentioned as the friend of the work-people, were also on strike.[12]

In the North-German Parliament two members of the Association, Liebknecht and Bebel, had abstained from voting on the 120,000,000 war loan giving as their reason, in a written declaration, that they could not vote because it was a dynastic war, and a vote in favour would imply a vote of confidence in the Prussian Ministry, while a vote against might be interpreted as favouring the criminal designs of Bonaparte.**

They had declared that as Social Republicans and members of the International who combated all oppressors regardless of nationality and aimed at the union of all the oppressed they could not vote and expressed a confidential hope that the people of Europe would strain every nerve to conquer the power which would make them the arbiters of their own destinies.[13]

Cit. *Marx* then read the address which had been issued with the sanction of the Sub-Committee. The address was received with general approbation.***

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* The entry is apparently not exact. Should be *Marseillaise*.—*Ed.*

** Here a sentence is crossed out in the MS whose content corresponds to that in the next paragraph.—*Ed.*

*** See pp. 323-29 of the present volume. *Ed.*

To the question what steps had been taken to get it published the *Secretary** replied that he had sent it to the *Times* accompanied by a letter to the Editor suitable to precede the address, to publish it under the head of Letters to the Editor, if objections should be made to publish it in another form. He had also stated that it would not be communicated to any other morning paper until it was known that the *Times*[14] would not publish it. He thought there was little prospect of getting [it] in full into any paper.

Cit. *Harris* said it must not be tolerated that the Secretary sent [the address] only to the *Times* with a private letter, the address must be sent to every penny paper published as well as to the great monopolist.

The *Secretary* replied that would render the secretaryship intolerable. He would not undertake to provide all the papers with the copies of an address that took some three and a half hours to copy, and if the *Times* had brought it the weekly and provincial papers would have brought it too and if the *Times* did not bring it they would not. He thought it ought to be printed for circulation.

Cit. *Marx* said that he had sent it to the Editor of another paper that day and thought it would be published.[15]

Cit. *Lucraft* thought we should not depend on the *Times* or any other paper; he would be [ready to give] half a crown towards getting the address printed.

Citizens *Applegarth*, *Boon*, *Harris* and others promised to do likewise.

Cit. *Boon* then proposed that the address be printed.

Cit. *Hales J.* seconded and Cit. *Applegarth* supported the proposition.

Carried unanimously and [agreed] that 1,000 copies be printed.

Cit. *Milner* moved and Cit. *Boon* seconded that a subscription be opened to establish a permanent printing fund

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

and that the outside public be appealed to by a footnote in the address.

Cit. *Hales* proposed as an amendment that the question be deferred till after the Congress. The Finance Committee had not done anything; the Council did not know its financial position, the fund might not be required.

Cit. *Harris* said he had attended three times to arrange the matter of the Finance Committee but he had no books given him; he would gladly have gone over all the old books if required. But the Finance Committee was not the printing committee, it had nothing to do with it.

Cit. *Lucraft* remarked that the business before the chair should not be lost sight of: it was a footnote to invite subscription; he was against it.

Cit. *Murray* thought 1,000 copies would not meet the requirement. He was in favour of the proposition and the address should be translated into all the languages.

Cit. *Applegarth* saw no objection if the proposition was cut in two, i.e., to have a printing fund and invite subscriptions by a circular accompanying the address.

Cit. *Milner* wanted to know how it could be made known without publishing it.

Cit. *Murray* was for asking the societies.

The *Secretary* said he was against the proposition. It would tell the outside public that we were short of funds which would reduce our importance which greatly depended on the belief that we had large sums at our disposal, and it would not bring any money. It would be the worst thing that could be done to tell the outside public and the governments that we were poor.

Cit. *Boon* could not see that an appeal for subscriptions to a general printing fund could do any harm.

Cit. *Milner* thought it no disgrace to be poor and was not ashamed to own it and let the world know it. Other societies called for subscriptions, particularly the Christian societies, no movement could go on without.

Cit. *Jung* said we had been a great deal worse off than we were now: we paid our way and that was more than some of the middle-class movements did. If we exposed our poverty the press would not respect us as it did: it was because they thought we had plenty [of] money that they considered us powerful. He was against the footnote.

Cit. *Marx* said if the pennies were paid we would have enough; he had no objection to an appeal in a form of a circular. The address would be translated.

Cit. *Boon* said a fund was needed for a certain purpose which had nothing to do with the financial state of the Association.

Cit. *Serraillier* seconded the amendment. He had not said a word all the evening. He was against appealing for funds before the Congress.

The amendment was carried by 11 against 5.

Cit. *Marx* called attention to the draft of a treaty published in the *Times* of the previous day and pronounced it a forged document[16]; no Frenchman would write such French. In the official Prussian papers such things were printed before 1866, and the Prussian Government agreed to them. The working class had no interest in preserving Belgium as a separate state, it had employed its army to kill the working people. The English Government had used Napoleon, they had cringed and crawled to him and now they were going to kick him.

The following members subscribed towards the expense of printing the address: Applegarth 2s. 6d.; Boon 2s. 6d.; Bora 6d.; Cowell Stepney 5s; Hales J. 2s. 6d.; Harris 2s. 6d.; Jung 2s. 6d.; Lucraft 2s. 6d.; Marx 5s.; Pascalis 6d.; Stoll 2s. 6d; Pfann (a visitor from Vienna) 1s.; Serraillier 2s. 6d; Townshend 1s. Total £1 13s. Paid up at once 15s. 6d.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*JOHN WESTON*

[LIST OF NEWSPAPERS, ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS TO WHOM THE FOLLOWING WAS SENT OUT:]

[Copies of the Address on the War*]

*American Workman* 1.
*Advocate*,** Chicago 1.
*Arbeiter-Union* 1.
*Boston Journal**** 1.
*New-Yorker Democrat* 1.
*World* 1.
Harney 3.
Trevellick 3.
New Democracy 3.
Jessup 3.
Hume 3.
Sorge 3.
Vogt 3.
Lucraft 1.
Applegarth 1.
Weston 1.
Ludlow 1.
Stuart Mill 1.
Professor Beesly 1.
Fawcett, Professor 1.
Frederick Harrison 1.
Thomas Hughes 1.
Thomas Huxley 1.
Peter Taylor 1.

London Cigar-Makers 1.
City Shoemakers 1.
Web-Weavers 1.
Helvetia 1.
West End Ladies' Boot [closers] 1.
Trunk-Makers 1.
Cigar-Makers, Liverpool 1.
Dodson 1.
Hatters 1.
Allan 1.
Plasterers 1.
Brassfinishers 1.
Philanthropic Coopers 1.
Ironfounders 1.
Tin-Plate Workers 1.
"Silver Cup" Carpenters 1.
Tottenham Court Road Carpenters 1.
Painters 1.
Land and Labour League, James Street, Oxford St. 1.
do Old Road 1.
Nag's Head 1.

Letters

Basket-Makers 1.
Bookbinders 1.
Bricklayers 1.
Bootclosers 1.
Alliance Cabinet-Makers 1.
West End Cab [inet-Makers] 1.
Carpenters 1.
Tailors 1.
London Coach-Makers 1.
Elastic Web [-Weavers]
Trunk-Makers 1.
Peace Society 2.
Bookbinders, London 1.
Peace Society 7.
Mead Malden Road 1.
Peace Society 2.
Reform Union, Manchester 1.

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* The list is in Eccarius's hand on p. 95 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*
** *The Workingman's Advocate.*—*Ed.*
*** *The Weekly American Workman.*—*Ed.*

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|---|---|---|---|
| Borkheim | 1. | Iron Workers, North of England | 1. |
| Phipson | 1. | Sheffield, Dronfield | 1. |
| *National Reformer* | 1. | Dundee | 1. |
| Stepney | 2. | Manchester Tailors | 1. |
| Marx | 2. | Manchester Trades Council | 1. |
| Tailors | 1. | Edinburgh Trades Council | 1. |
| *Examiner* | 1. | Dublin Trades Council | 1. |
| Basket-Makers | 1. | Nottingham Trades Council | 1. |
| Bookbinders | 1. | Kendal Shoemakers | 1. |
| Bricklayers | 1. | John Smith, Blandford | 1. |
| Bootclosers | 1. | Plasterers, Birmingham | 1. |
| Alliance Cabinet [-Makers] | 1. | Organ Builders | 1. |
| West End Cabinet [-Makers] | 1. | Mac Rae | 1. |
| Chelsea Carpenters | 1. | Birmingham Trades Council | 1. |
| Coach-Makers | 1. | | |

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*August 2*

Members present: *Boon*, *Bora*, *Eccarius*, *Hales J.*, *Jung*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Harris*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Odger*, *Stoll*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 96-100 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Serraillier* read a letter from Belgium in which Amsterdam was proposed as the seat of the Congress. It would be near to all except Italy and Spain. The writer was astonished that the direct legislation question and the education question had been eliminated from the programme. The section is for leaving the Council at London,[17] but gives notice that the Belgian delegates will ask at the Congress why the Council has interfered in Switzerland.[18] Cannot understand why the Council should keep silent about the war while everybody is protesting.

Cit. *Jung* [said] that they had been a little too fast. The address and the letter had probably crossed each other on the road: he would speak about the Congress afterwards.

Cit. *Marx* stated that since the publication of the address more protests had been issued in Germany in our sense, at Barmen, Munich, Breslau and other places.

The *Secretary** announced that he had received a parcel of peace pamphlets from the Peace Society[19] for distribution.

Cit. *Odger* thought the Peace Society might assist in circulating our address if an application was made.

The *Secretary* stated that very few were left.

Cit. *Harris* proposed and *Townshend* seconded that another 1,000 be printed. Carried.

The *Chairman*** stated that Stuart Mill was highly pleased with the address. There was not one word in it that ought not to be there, it could not have been done with fewer words.

Cit. *Harris* thought it would have been more courteous if he had acknowledged the receipt by letter to the Secretary.

Cit. *Jung* called attention to an article in the *Solidarité*

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* Eccarius. *Ed.*

** Weston. *Ed.*

commenting on the conduct of the Council respecting the Swiss quarrel.[20] It stated that the Council had not been asked to interfere and give judgment. They spoke of a private letter of his which was said to have been written on the 27th of April, instead of that it had been written on the 21st. He had been instructed to write to both parties for particulars. Geneva had promptly replied. Guillaume had answered that he would lay it before the Committee who would reply officially, but no reply had been received. The Parisians had complained of the backwardness of the Council in not settling the matter sooner.

It was wrong to polemise on private letters of Council members. They took Liebknecht and Bebel's conduct in the North-German Parliament as backing up their abstention theory.[21]

In Paris a man had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for crying "*Vive la paix*".

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Harris* seconded that the matter be referred to the Sub-Committee. Agreed.

Cit. *Boon* proposed that the seat of the Congress be taken into consideration.

Cit. *Marx* wished to express an opinion. The Congress was to take place on the 5th of September but the present state of things was not favourable. At Paris the Association was dissolved and no French could leave home without a passport. The latest German reports were that our party was really in distress for want of funds on account of the war, the official paper had to be reduced to half the size for want of means to pay for the printing. The Germans would not be able to send anybody; we ought to wait, we were not in a position to decide. Amsterdam, besides, was not a good place. It had no industrial population, the section was yet young, there was no local force and it might place Holland in a difficulty. The Brussels proposition was not acceptable. All the sections ought to be written to and asked whether they would consent to a postpone-

ment. Instead of a Congress a Conference might perhaps be held as in 1865.[22]

Cit. *Jung* considered Amsterdam the last place to hold a Congress in. The working class there was in a very dejected state. The Swiss would not be able to send delegates: they too had to reduce their papers on account of the war; many had been called to arms; a force of 60,000 was under arms and trade was sure to be bad. The only place where a Congress could be held was England and that would only be an English Congress. The Council could not put it off, but the opinion of the Continental members must be asked. We might yet be able to hold it at Mayence or perhaps at Paris.

Cit. *Boon* proposed that the Congress should be held in London where it would not be disturbed.* His opinion was that the Congress should be held and as there was no other place where it could meet it should meet in London.

Cit. *Milner* could only see one thing and that was that anything that might be done should be based on reciprocity; the opinion of members ought to be invited on all sides. We generally agreed on all sides and might have to come to giving up the Congress but the proposition ought not to come from here. The Council must give importance to the Association in the present emergency; it was the arch of the movement and would lose its prestige if it wavered. It must be careful on this question but he wished that the convenience of others should be consulted. Nothing could be done that was not based upon a humanitarian feeling.

The *Chairman* ruled that there was no motion before the chair.

Cit. *Hales* said a great responsibility rested on the Council and nothing ought to be done that was not in the interest

* Here the following is crossed out in the MS: "He said he did not represent anybody but himself and that was his. . .". -*Ed.*

of the Association. The Council should appeal to the Constituency and [if] they were in favour of postponement the Council would be relieved of all responsibility. He therefore proposed that the sections be appealed to to state whether they were in favour of postponement and if so to give the Council the power to fix the date.

Cit. *Eccarius* seconded the proposition and stated that independent of the absence of Continental delegates a Congress in London would have the moral weight as in some smaller town on the Continent. On the Continent they could always secure some first-rate place to meet in, here they would have to go into some corner, there would be no stir, it would be drowned in the London crowd. The stir it made in the small Continental town did the Association as much good as the transaction of the Congresses themselves.

Cit. *Marx* said if the sections agreed a Conference might be held here but he was for an appeal.

Cit. *Boon* supported the appeal but did not think that London was such a bad place for a Congress as Eccarius seemed to think. If sensation was wanted we ought to go to Paris. He only expressed his own opinion, he was not delegated by anyone, and represented no one but himself.

The *Chairman* said that was a mistake: every Council member was expected to represent the Constituency of the whole Association.

Cit. *Milner* wished to come to an understanding. Instead of sinking the importance of the Association now was the time to raise it. We could not for a moment abandon the idea of holding a Congress, or sink its importance. Thousands were brought together without any fault of their own and on such an occasion the Council must act. There was the war, hundreds of thousands would destroy each other, we must show it up and all about frontiers, now was the time to stick up and show that we were international; was the Council going to sink when [it] ought to rise? The

convenience of the constituents ought to be consulted by all means but, he continued, don't budge, if you budge for a moment your cause is lost, the Association will sink to nothing. We had shown in our address that we were not confused but we must follow it up.

Cit. *Marx* said he could not understand what Milner meant.

Cit. *Hales* said all he desired was to ask the sections to postpone the Congress; the Council had the power of fixing the place.

Cit. *Marx* said the Congress fixed the place but the Council could change it in case of need.

Cit. *Stoll* said that the French members could not even come to London without exposing themselves to prosecutions.

Cit. *Harris* said: before you get the answers back the whole of Europe may be involved. Cannot we make a stand even in London where no notice will be taken of us?

Cit. *Marx*: if things become so involved we are always here to act.

Cit. *Jung* said: the Congress is the law-making power and if we hold a Congress without Continental representatives they would repudiate what we did. Cit. Harris and Milner seem to confound the Congress with a demonstration.

The proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Cit. *Hales* moved that the Finance Committee be discharged.

Cit. *Harris* seconded and it was agreed to let it stand over for a week.

The Council adjourned at a quarter past 11 o'clock.

*B. LUCRAFT*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*August 9*

Members present: *Bora, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Milner, Mottershead, Murray, Serraillier, Stoll, Weston, Townshend.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and with an alteration at the suggestion of Cit. Harris confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read a letter from the Peace Society who offered twenty pounds on condition that it should be spent in the further distribution of the address on the war on the Continent.

Cit. *Hales* proposed that the offer be accepted.

Cit. *Weston* seconded the proposition. Carried unanimously.

The *Chairman* announced that the address had appeared in full in the *Glasgow Daily Herald* with a complimentary leader.

A great many other provincial papers were mentioned that had produced the address in full.

Cit. *Serraillier* had received a letter from Spain proposing Barcelona as the seat of the Congress. The Spanish papers were filled with protestations against the war.

Cit. *Jung* had received a letter from Naples announcing that a detailed report would soon be sent about how they were going on, how they were troubled with their president, and how Caporusso got imprisoned. Caporusso had forfeited the right to communicate with the Council. He had betrayed his post at a critical moment, his conduct must be inquired into.[23]

A paper had been sent containing an article from Caporusso in which the other party was accused. Some time

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 100-03 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

since a letter from Geneva had stated that the Naples section got into the hands of the police, some inquiries were necessary and it would be best to write to Dassy who had nothing to do with either party.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Hales*, seconded by Cit. *Murray*, Cit. Jung was instructed to write.

Cit. *Hales* then proposed and Cit. *Murray* seconded that the Sub-Committee be authorised to make arrangements for the translation and distribution of the address.

Cit. *Weston* thought the Council might do something at once. If the Sub-Committee could deal with it the Council could.

The *Secretary* was of opinion that the four secretaries, viz.: the Swiss, the Belgian, the German and himself, should be authorised to manage the affair. The main thing was to circulate the address as widely as possible in the two countries that were involved in the war and the French version would have to be printed either in Switzerland or in Belgium and smuggled into France.

Cit. *Harris* proposed that the address be translated into all the languages.

Cit. *Townshend* seconded.

Cit. *Hales* then modified his proposition to this effect: That the address be translated into French and German and printed and distributed and that Citizens Marx, Jung, Serraillier, and Eccarius be appointed to carry it out. It was not desirable that the money should be applied to other countries, it should be limited to France and Germany.

Cit. *Mottershead* seconded the proposition.

Cit. *Serraillier* said it was [necessary] to translate it into all the languages as the members of the Council did not understand them sufficiently but the Spanish and Italian sections had men amongst them who [were] fully conversant with the French and they would translate it into their own languages.

Cit.* asked if that would fulfil the conditions with the Peace Society.

The *Secretary* thought it would. The address would be translated and printed in the journals of the Association in Spain, in Holland, etc., but it was not advisable to print a separate edition in every language.

Cit. *Harris* acknowledged that the means were not sufficient to carry out his proposition.

The proposition [of] Cit. Hales was unanimously carried.

Cit. *Hales* then proposed that the Finance Committee be discharged because it had not done its duty, it had not done the work it had been appointed to do.

Cit. *Mottershead* seconded the proposition but denied that the Committee had not done its duty. They had drawn up a plan and made an estimate and gave a report but they had not been frankly met. No sooner had they opened their mouths than they had been told all round that they were wrong. The books were in such a state that nobody knew what to make of them.

Cit. *Harris* said that men had been appointed to do a work which they had not been able to do because they had not the means. The books were not kept in a business-like manner, they would condemn it in a court of law.

Cit. *Murray* said he remembered the report being made and there was no one but the Finance Committee making any attack on them, they attacked themselves.

The *Secretary* stated that the call for arrears had resulted in one society severing its connection because the International meddled in politics[24]; another had not been aware that it was in arrears and the other had not replied.

It had been agreed that an appeal should be made simultaneously with the sending out of the Congress programme; the delay in drawing up the programme and the war had interfered with that but he had written to the societies.

* No name in the MS.—*Ed.*

The old liabilities had been copied from the old balance-sheets and were all in the book. They had not been carried forward because none had been paid since 1867; in that year £21 had been paid of the £40 due at the Congress of 1866. A printer's balance of £5 had since gone through the bankruptcy court as bad debts and he considered the others a little better than bad debts. If there was any money to pay them there would be no difficulty of finding what we owed. He challenged anyone to show that the income and expenditure was not entered plain enough that everybody could understand it.

Cit. *Jung* said the Finance Committee had not been appointed to do auditor's work, the books ought to have been audited first and then the Committee would have seen how we stood. There were things connected with the Society of which the younger members knew nothing; they did not know how poor we had been and not any of those who had advanced money now made a claim for payment.

*Mottershead* said it was the duty of the Finance Committee to look in the books but that duty had been shirked. They had been led astray by the Secretary about the old debts on the plea that they were too old to be paid. This was a disgrace to any society. He must say that the books were kept in such a slovenly manner that people were ashamed to go into them. There was Le Lubez going about everywhere telling the people that the Council owed him money and did not pay him.

The *Secretary* said Le Lubez's charge was for postage while French Secretary, five years ago, and the reason why he had not been paid was because he refused to give up the correspondence.

The Finance Committee was then discharged and the appointment of a new one adjourned.

*JOHN HALES*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*August 16*

Members present: *Boon, Caihil, Cohn, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Milner, Murray, Lessner, Lucraft, Serraillier, Weston.*

Cit. *Hales J.* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. Edward Caihil was accepted as delegate from the Tottenham Court Road branch, Carpenters and Joiners.

The *Secretary* stated that the translations of the war address had been sent to Geneva and that both the English** and the French version would be printed there and thence conveyed into France and Germany.

Cit. *Weston* stated that the old gentleman whom he had mentioned before had given him a sovereign. If the Workmen's Peace Committee[25] was hard up for funds it was to go half and half, if not, the whole should go to the International.

Cit. *Lucraft*, being the treasurer of the Workmen's Committee, thought it was more needed for the Council; it was accordingly accepted and the Secretary instructed to have another 1,000 copies of the address printed.

The Secretary of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Society*** paid £1 contribution and £1 to the Congress fund.

Cit. *Cohn* paid £1 9s. contribution and stated that £1 had been voted for the Congress by the London Cigar-Makers' Association, which would be paid whenever it was decided when and where the Congress should take place.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 104-05 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** A mistake; should read "German".—*Ed.*

*** Smith.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Jung* communicated a letter from the German Swiss Committee agreeing to the postponement of the Congress and leaving it to the Council to appoint time and place; a letter to the same effect was communicated from the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Both letters were against the removal of the Council from London.[26]

Cit. *Harris* announced that he had sent war addresses to Spain, that a copy had been given to Castelar who was highly pleased with it and sent his fraternal greetings.

Cit. *Jung* communicated a portion of a private letter from Mr. Robinson of the *Pall Mall Gazette* to Applegarth in which he paid a high compliment to the address.

Mr. Appleton of Manchester was so pleased with it that he was going to have it reprinted for circulation.

A discussion then arose as to what the Finance Committee about to be appointed was expected to do.

The *Chairman** stated it was to keep the Council informed from week to week as to the financial position, to get funds, etc. It could not be tied down to any particular work, but it would be its duty from time to time to make recommendations. The General Secretary ought to have no money in his possession. If he was appointed he would ascertain in a month what the Council owed; the *Secretary* stated he could tell the Council at once.

Cit. Boon, Hales J. and Serraillier were then appointed as the Financial Committee.

The Secretary was authorised to pay a quarter's rent to the Sunday League.[27]

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*THOMAS MOTTERSHEAD*, August 23/70

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

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* John Hales. *Ed.*

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*August 23*

*(Fifty-second birthday of the Secretary.)*

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Hales J.*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Murray*, *Odger*, *Pfänder*, *Serraillier*, *Townshend*.

Cit. *Mottershead* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** reported that 15,000 copies German and 15,000 copies French war addresses would be printed at Geneva and sent into France and Germany for the money granted by the Peace Society. He further stated that he had received the cheque of £20 and given it to the Swiss Secretary*** to forward it.

A letter was read from Hume of New York in which he stated that he had been almost prostrated by the heat, that he was an old man and had only made two members as yet. He had not been able to attend the Labour Congress.[28]

Cit. *Lucraft* reported that a friend of peace in Kent had sent a piece of his own poetry to Birmingham for circulation and in return had received a handbill with some extracts from our war address, in consequence of which he had forwarded a complimentary letter enclosing five shillings to the funds of the Council.

The Secretary was instructed to forward a card of membership and papers.

Cit. *Serraillier* read a letter from the Belgian Council in which the observations respecting the war protest and

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 105-06 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** Jung.—*Ed.*

the Swiss dispute of a former letter were withdrawn and the postponement of the Congress agreed to.

A letter from the Romance Committee of Geneva stated that the section was unanimously in favour of the postponement of the Congress and leaving the General Council in London. There was no other place so safe. One of the sections that had gone with La Chaux-de-Fonds had returned, Bakunin and Perron had been expelled.[29]

Cit. *Hales* stated that the Finance Committee had met but was not yet in a position to present a complete report but it had agreed upon a recommendation.

The *Chairman** did not consider it advisable to entertain the question till a complete report, and he thought a written report was presented.

After several suggestions Cit. *Hales* agreed to present a written report that day week.

Cit. *Serraillier* then proposed that a formal resolution respecting the postponement of the Congress be passed. After some remarks the following resolution was agreed to:

"That, in consideration of the advice received from the Continental sections of the Association concerning the Congress, the Fifth Annual Congress be postponed till the earliest opportunity."

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Lucraft*, seconded by Cit. *Harris*, it was resolved against two to publish the resolution in the English papers.[30]

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*JOHN HALES*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*

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* Mottershead.—*Ed.*

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*August 30*

Members present: *Eccarius, Hales J., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Serraillier, Townshend.*

Cit. *J. Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** reported that he had sent the announcement postponing the Congress to twenty-five papers and all he had seen had inserted it.

A letter from New York announced the formation of a French section in that city containing about 100 members and having appointed a Committee for six months.[31] In the rules the dignity of president had been excluded. As the first sign of life a protest against the war had been published. The section applied for affiliation, which was unanimously voted and the Secretary instructed to forward it to the French Corresponding Secretary*** to send it to New York.

A letter from Dupont addressed to Stoll stated that the lithographic printers of Paris were on strike, that they had lent out 18,000 francs to other societies and their own funds were exhausted. They desired the Council to obtain loans for them from the English trade societies.

Cit. *Jung* proposed and Cit. *Lessner* seconded that Dupont be informed that the Council could do nothing. Carried unanimously.

Cit. *Jung* announced that he had received from Brussels seven copies of the French report of the last Congress.[32] The selling price was 1 franc. Cit. Serraillier took charge of them.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 107-10 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** Dupont.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Hales* stated that he had drawn up a report on behalf of the Finance Committee but he had yet (not) been able to submit it to the other members of the Committee for approval.

Cit. *Jung* then announced that Osborne Ward was present and about to return to the United States; perhaps he might wish to say a few words.

Cit. *Ward* said: I have but a few words to say. I suppose you are aware that I was delegated by the co-operative societies of New York to your last Congress. The delegate who attended represented the Trade Unions. I was not a trade unionist formerly but I have made up my mind to become so now, and take an active part in the movement on my return home. I look upon the Trade Unions as a means of progressive reform in social and political questions. It is by the help of Trade Unions that we must gain political power.

Co-operation as at present existing creates only a new class of masters, a co-operative bourgeoisie. We must have co-operation where everyone gets the full reward for his labour, and this co-operation ought to be commenced by the state. When once we get rid of the present stock-jobbing Government we shall be able to make an appropriation large enough to make state co-operative production one of the institutions of the country. A large track of land might be set apart, upon which besides agriculture other industries might be established by the Government and worked like the dockyards are now. They ought to be supplied with all the labour-saving machinery, but everybody, man, woman and child, should work, for no one can be healthy without work.

If at the end of the year it was found that they had produced more than they required, the hours of labour ought to be reduced. With an economical application of that muscular power the exercise of which is necessary for

the preservation of health five hours a day should be enough.

Suppose that such associations had become recognised institutions of the state, and that similar establishments existed in England, France, Spain, etc., then a practical interchange of goods and ideas would open a boundless field. We would have co-operative ships and international means of travelling; this would kill war.

In Europe you grow wines which are an almost indispensable necessity for us in America. We suffer much from indigestion and consumption through the want of such wines. I am an engineer. The life of an engineer in America averages only 35 years of age. In France and Spain they live much longer because of these beverages which assist the digestion of food. We, on the other hand, grow cotton and other things which are necessaries for you and we could exchange without other people making a profit out of them. Such a thing can be brought about and I think we have a better chance in America of making an experiment on a large scale than there is in Europe.

Cit. *Milner*: If I understand rightly Cit. Ward seeks to blend agriculture with industry, combining the two health promoting occupations, and thinks it can be done by a grant of land from the Government. The difficulty [is] to get the work-people into Parliament. Much could be done now if we had the organisation, but we have not the mind to do it. Existing interests are the opposing forces. We seek to convert people to the idea that work is healthy, but they will not believe it.

Cit. *Hales* thought that Ward looked upon the present state of society as a machine based upon wrong principles.

Cit. *Harris* said society cannot be a machine because a machine has no morals. Cit. Ward wants a higher moral state of society. I am altogether against Government: we have had too much of it. Many experiments have been made here but destroyed by false friends. I hope they will succeed

in America but you have to be careful. What I object to is the interference of Government. To get the work-people into Congress will raise their moral tone. The black man was freed to raise his moral tone but he was at the same time divorced from the land and was wanted to work cheap. When he refused they fetched coolies. Tell the people of America that no Government has a right to grant land to anyone: the land belongs to the people. The worst people in the world are those who make it their business to govern others. I will admit that the Communists and Socialists would establish a better state of society than the one I am living in but I object to the trickery of Government. I want liberty.

Cit. *Jung* said: I have no threat of the Government. Those who have the power of the Government can carry their point. The present governments are against us, we cannot escape them because we have to pay and our taxes are used to help others. If we became wealthy enough to become dangerous they would tax us more. Friend Ward is for a kind of Communistic Community and thinks there is a better chance in America to commence co-operative production on a large scale assisted by the state than in Europe, which I do not believe but he is right to try and we will do well to assist as much as we can and encourage him.

Cit. *Ward*: I expected to meet this opposition. We have much respect for the Council, and if we have the sanction of the Association we can do more than we could without such sanction. The Association is growing very fast in the estimation of the American work-people and the debates of each succeeding Congress are more thought of. The question is, is it right that a commencement be made and the theories of philosophers crystallised, that is to say, carried out in practice? If it be right, tell us yes and we will go on. If we can logically prove that it is necessary for the progress of society it will succeed.

Cit. *Harris*: I have not said anything to depreciate the intentions of Cit. Ward, on the contrary, I have given him addresses to bring him together with good and true men but they must be cautious.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*September 6*

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Serraillier*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read a note from Thomas Dixon, Sunderland, asking for addresses. Application granted.

A letter from the New Democracy, New York,[33] was read and the Secretary instructed to reply.

A letter from Dupont announced that he was willing to proceed to Paris if the Council desired him to do so.

Cit. *Marx* read a letter from New York commenting on the doings of Hume who has issued cards of membership in which he styles himself agent of the Association for the United States and makes Lucraft President of the Association.[34]

Cit. *Harris* objected to people who made only use of the Association to get connection with the press; he thought Hume was one of them.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 110-13 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

The Secretary was instructed to draw up a letter to Hume and submit it at the next meeting.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had received a letter from the Executive of the Democratic Socialist Party* asking for advice how to proceed.

He had immediately replied and received an answer that they would do their duty.[35]

He then read a letter from the Federal Committee of Paris appealing to the General Council to issue an address to the German people. In an address issued by the International of Paris to the German people it was stated that the man who had declared war against Germany was in their hands and it was now the duty of the German armies to retire.[36]

Cit. Marx stated that working men's meetings would be held immediately in Germany against the policy of the Prussian Government.

The *Chairman*** announced that there were several Germans present who had been expelled from France and who wanted work.

Cit. *Harris* then proposed and Cit. *Townshend* seconded that an address be issued to the working people of Germany

Cit. *Milner* did not think the discussion necessary. The party who had inaugurated the war was gone but the people seemed [to be] in favour to continue it. The difficulty was to get the French in a frame of mind to listen to reasonable propositions and the Prussians to be moderate in their demands. Whichever view the Council might take, it would be accused of partisanship by the other side. The Council could express an opinion and leave the rest to a sub-committee who would have to draw up the address.

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* Of Germany.—*Ed.*

** Jung.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Weston*'s idea was that the French should be addressed first. The new Government wanted to prosecute the war and make it its own. To drive the invader from the French soil was rather a large talk, they ought to invite him to leave now that he had the instigator in his hands. The French had invaded first. We ought to admonish them to make proposals of peace, and when they had done that then we should appeal to the Germans who had been challenged to the war. If the French continued they would put themselves wrong with the world. Arrangements were in progress to hold meetings, and the view he had expressed was the view held by many. He hoped the French would not consider it a want of sympathy.

Cit. *Serraillier* said Cit. Weston had stated that the present French Government was taking up the Emperor's war. The French Government had offered terms of peace. It had offered to pay the expense and as a guarantee of peace to abolish the standing army.

Cit. *Harris* said Napoleon had brought about the war. The French ought to be grateful to the Germans for having rid them of a tyrant. The intention of the International was to appeal to the stronger to be magnanimous. He wanted an appeal to the stronger. A few weeks ago a meeting had been in contemplation but the peace-mongers had not wanted it.

Cit. *Weston* thought that Harris seemed to have understood him as accusing the French of having commenced the war; that was not so, but by continuing it the Government became guilty. If they had offered the terms of peace stated, his own observations had been uncalled for.

Cit. *Boon* said: let the Germans have Alsace and Lorraine; he was in favour of an address and to demand of the Prussians to treat Napoleon like a thief. But the people themselves ought to have a voice in the annexation.

Cit. *Marx* could not coincide with Boon. He assumed that it was the German people who wanted those provinces; it

was only the Court party and the aristocracy, and the middle class. What the Germans* wanted was a guarantee against Prussia who would transfer the military government from France to Germany. The French would revive under the revolution and the Germans would become what the French have been. The middle-class men were no heroes but there was money to be made and they would demand annexation. There had not been one working men's meeting in favour; but the professors and the commercial men and the pot-house [politicians] of the South were all for annexation. The English press had been worse than the German. They said the Germans were a peaceable race but they had dismembered Poland, oppressed Hungary and Italy. The working class was not strong enough to prevent annexation but they could raise an opposition against their rulers. We had said in our first address that the death-knell of the Second Empire had sounded and that it would end by a parody; that had already come to pass. We had also foreseen that the war might lose its defensive character and told the Germans if they allowed that, victory or defeat would be alike disastrous. We had only to stick [to] what we had said already and appeal to the German working class to guard themselves against the Prussian Government who had assumed another tone. The annexation would furnish a reason why Europe should keep armed; Russia and France would prepare for new wars to revenge the present war.

A** . . . wished to be pointed out that in fighting against the French the Germans fought against the Republic.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

Cit. *Milner* thought the matter was urgent and was in favour of a special meeting.

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* Further the words "German working class" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

** A gap in the MS.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Boon* proposed that Marx, Jung, Milner, and Serraillier be appointed to draw up the address. Carried.

Cit. *Boon* proposed and Cit. *Marx* seconded that a special meeting be held on Friday evening to receive the address. Carried.

Cit. *Serraillier* proposed and *Marx* seconded the nomination of Cit. Lopatin as a member of the Council.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*R. APPLEGARTH*, Chairman

*J. G. ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*September 9*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Jung*, *Harris*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Lessner*, *Serraillier*, *Pfänder*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Townshend* in the chair.

Cit. *Marx* read the following address.**

Cit. *Eccarius* proposed and Cit. *Harris* seconded that the address as read be adopted. Carried.

On the proposition of Cit. *Harris*, seconded by Cit. *Milner*, it was unanimously resolved that 1,000 copies be printed and the Secretary authorised to have [them] printed by Tuesday night.

The Council adjourned at 11½ o'clock.

*R. APPLEGARTH*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 114 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The text of the address is not given in the Minutes. See pp. 333-42 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*September 13*

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Harris*, *Hales J.*, *Hales W.*, *Bradnick*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Milner* in the chair.

The *Secretary*** stated that the members of the Council were invited and expected to attend a meeting at the Arundel Hall to arrange a demonstration in favour of acknowledging the French Republic by the British Government.[37] The Minutes might therefore be postponed. Agreed.

Cit. *Jung* had received a letter from the Federal Committee of Paris in which it was stated that all were engaged in the defence of Paris. Meetings were held all over Paris and there was a permanent Committee. The present Government was not theirs but they must support the Republic. Robin had written about the Congress; they wanted to call it together as soon as possible.

Cit. *Jung* said the calling of the Congress belonged to the Council, not to them.

Cit. *Marx* said: when that was written they had no idea of the real state of things; they would have to stand a siege first; it would not be worthwhile to talk about rights now.

It was agreed that Cit. Jung should simply acknowledge the receipt of the letter.

A letter from Lyons announced that the members of the Association had taken the initiative there to proclaim the Republic. A Committee of Public Safety had been established, of which six members belonged to the International, and a deputation of ten, of whom three were members of

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 114-15 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

the International, had been sent to Paris to confer with the Provisional Government.

Cit. *Marx* announced that Serraillier had gone to Paris and decided to remain there. He was in the National Guard. in the corps of Flourens. His family was without means; he proposed that one pound be granted to his wife.

Cit. *John Hales* seconded the proposition. Carried.

Cit. *Marx* had received a telegram from Paris to the effect that it was desirable the workmen of London should force the Government to recognise the Republic.

Cit. *Hales* read the Finance Committee's report to be considered at the next sitting.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

*R. APPLEGARTH*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*September 20, 1870*

Members present: *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Applegarth*, *Hales J.*, *Harris*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Pfänder*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Applegarth* in the chair.

The Minutes of the three previous meetings were read and confirmed.

Cit. Lopatin was unanimously elected as a member of the Council.

On the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by *Eccarius* and supported by *Lessner*, Cit. Fred. Engels was nominated as a member of the Council.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Birmingham

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 116-18 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Trades Council enclosing a resolution to send a delegate at the next Congress.

The Secretary* was instructed to reply and furnish information as to the conditions under which the Council could be represented.

A letter from Henry Martin of Strood in Kent expressed regret that [though] the territorial question of France had been introduced into the war address, it had not been made a point that in any territorial changes the inhabitants of such territories ought to be consulted.

Cit. *Marx* stated that the semi-official Russian paper that appeared in the French language had had an article on our second war address. He had forwarded both addresses to the official paper that appeared in the Russian language.

He had received a letter from Germany announcing that seven members of the Socialist Democratic Party, the men who had issued the manifesto against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, had been arrested by General Vogel and sent 650 miles away in chains to the East of Prussia.[38] If they had been left at Brunswick, it would have been necessary to bring them before a jury and no indictment could have been sustained for what they had done. They had therefore been arrested by the orders of the military government and transported. At Leipzig the police had suppressed a demonstration and at Mayence four members, who had taken part in one and not being natives or citizens of the town, had been expelled. One of them was a Darmstädter. At Berlin, Augsburg, Nürenberg and other places demonstrations had taken place to protest against annexation.

Of the second war address only the *Spectator*, the *Figaro* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* had taken notice. He therefore suggested that the two addresses be printed together in pamphlet form. The Association might pay for the print-

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

ing, take what was wanted to give away and leave the rest to Truelove who might act as publisher to sell.

Cit. *Weston* said if the funds would allow it he would propose that 1,000 be printed.

The *Secretary* stated there were about £5 in hand.

Cit. *Harris* seconded and suggested that 1d. might be printed on as the price. Carried unanimously.

The Secretary was instructed to get 1,000 printed by that day week.[39]

The *Secretary* then read a draft of letter to Hume of New York. Objection was taken to the devices and to Hume calling himself agent and Lucraft President of the Association, on a card which he had designed for American members. Before going further with the letter the Secretary wanted to know whether the card should be suppressed altogether or not.

After some observations from Mottershead, Milner and Marx Cit. *Hales* moved that the card be objected to and the Secretary instructed to point out what was wrong and call upon Hume to conform to the Rules.

Cit. *Mottershead* seconded the proposition and Cit. *Marx* spoke in favour of it. Carried.

The *Secretary* then announced that [at] the meeting held at Arundel Hall on the previous Tuesday a Committee had been appointed to make arrangements for a demonstration in favour of the recognition of the French Republic by the British Government and protesting against the dismemberment of France. It had been resolved that the co-operation of the Council in this demonstration should [be] invited and that the Council should appoint a deputation of five to form part of the Committee.

Cit. *Hales* proposed that a deputation be appointed.

Cit. *Eccarius* seconded and stated that he had already attended a Committee meeting to which he [had] been invited as Secretary of the Council.

The proposition was carried and Citizens Cohn, Eccarius, Lopatin, Lessner and Milner were appointed.

It being close upon 11 o'clock, the consideration of the financial report was postponed and the Council adjourned.

*GEORGE MILNER*, Chairman

*J. GEOGRE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*September 27*

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Harris*, *Lessner*, *Lopatin*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Murray*, *Townshend*.

Cit. *Milner* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* announced that at the instigation of General Vogel the holding of working men's meetings had been suppressed in Saxony. There was also danger of *Volksstaat* ceasing to exist. Since the arrest of Dr. Jacoby the middle-class liberals had begun to protest against the arbitrary proceedings of General Vogel. As long as he had limited himself to the working classes they had said nothing. The *Cologne Gazette*** too had turned against the annexation of Alsace. It disputed its value as a strategical line but the opposition was qualified by remarks concerning the Cotton Trade of Alsace.[40]

He had received a letter from Brest addressed to Dupont which he had forwarded to Manchester. It gave a picture of the situation in France: there was a strong reaction setting in everywhere.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 118-19 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** *Kölnische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

# Manifeſt

des Ausſchuſſes der

## ſocial-demokratiſchen Arbeiterpartei.

### An alle deutſchen Arbeiter!

Eine neue unerwartete Wendung der Dinge iſt eingetreten. Napoleon iſt in deutſcher Gefangenſchaft, in Paris iſt die Republik erklärt und eine republikaniſche Regierung eingeſetzt worden. Nach zwanzigjährigem ſchmachvollem Beſtehen des zweiten Kaiſerreichs hat ſich das franzöſiſche Volk in der Stunde der größten Bedrängniß ermannt und ſeine Geſchicke in ſeine Hände genommen. Es hat ſich losgeſagt von dem Manne, von dem es ſich 20 Jahre hatte knechten laſſen und der endlich, dieſe Bedrängniß auf Frankreich herabbeſchworen. Ein „Hurrah“ der franzöſiſchen Republik!

Mit dieſer Wendung der Dinge iſt, ſo heißen wir, das Ende des Krieges gewiß. So lange die napoleoniſchen Söldnerſcharen Deutſchland bedrohten, war es unſere Pflicht, als Deutſche den „Vertheidigungskrieg“, den Krieg um die Unabhängigkeit Deutſchlands“ zu führen. Ein falſcher Vertheidigungskrieg ſchließt nicht aus, daß man den Feind angreife, es ſchließt, wie jeder Krieg, ein, daß Letzterer zum Frieden gezwungen wird. Daher mußten wir ſelbſt dann noch den deutſchen Heeren den Sieg wünſchen, als die unmittelbare Bedrohung der deutſchen Grenzen beſeitigt und unſer braves Heer mitten in Frankreich hineingedrungen war; freudig bewegten uns die in unerhörter Zopfetei, in großartigſter Todesverachtung von unſeren deutſchen Brüdern errungenen glorreichen Siege. Und gewiß können wir ſtolz darauf ſein, einem ſolchen Heldenvolke anzugehören. Aber nicht als je iſt es jetzt, in dem Bewußtſein des ruhmvollſten Sieges, unſere Pflicht, uns nicht zu berauſchen in dem wilden Siegesrauſch, der ſo leicht der Menſchen Meiſter beraubt, ſondern kühl und beſonnen uns zu fragen nach dem, was wir jetzt zu thun. Doppelt iſt dies unſere Pflicht der neuen Wendung der Dinge gegenüber.

**Die neue Volksregierung muß und wird den Frieden mit Deutſchland zu erreichen ſuchen, ſie muß und wird die Kriegserklärung des Napoleoniden zurückziehen.**

War es das franzöſiſche Volk, das uns den Krieg erklärte? Nein! Der Napoleonide war es, von ihm her das deutſche Schwert nunmehr Frankreich befreit und Frankreich hat ihm endgültig gebrochen. Laſſen wir uns nicht beirren durch den Umſtand, daß das ſiegreiche Vorſchreiten der deutſchen Heere dem Kriege nicht und mehr die Herzen der Franzoſen gewann. Eine große Nation kann den Feind auf ihrem Boden unmöglich lange erdulden. So berechtigt die Begeiſterung war, die das deutſche Volk in dem Gedanken einte, daß die Unabhängigkeit des deutſchen Bodens und die Unabhängigkeit des deutſchen Vaterlandes zu wahren ſeien, ſo erklärlich iſt es, daß Frankreich, zeitweilig den Mann vergeſſend, der ſein Unglück verſchuldet, nur daran dachte, **das Land von dem Feinde zu befreien. Dieſer Gedanke wird auch heute, wo Frankreich wieder Herr ſeiner Geſchicke geworden, die franzöſiſchen Herzen beherrſchen.** Aber die heutige Volksregierung wird ſich deſſen bewußt ſein, daß das franzöſiſche und das deutſche Volk zwei Brudervölker ſind, die beide derſelben Intereſſen, die bei e die heilige Pflicht haben, im Geiſte der Ruhe zuſammenzugehen und in den Künſten des Friedens zu wetteifern. Die heutige Volksregierung wird Frankreich von dem „Feinde“ zu befreien ſuchen durch den Frieden.

Aber dieſer Frieden muß für dieſe Regierung möglich ſein, d. h. es muß ihr ein ehrenvoller Frieden geſtattet werden. Wahrlich, Frankreich iſt dafür, daß es die Schmach des zweiten Kaiſerreichs ſo lange geduldet, genugſam geſtraft, und eine Pflicht des deutſchen Volkes iſt es, zu in ſeinem eigenen Intereſſe liegt es, einen ehrenvollen Frieden der franzöſiſchen Republik zu gewahren. Es iſt die Pflicht des deutſchen Volkes, denn auch das deutſche Volk wird ſich deſſen bewußt ſein, daß es nicht ſeine Aufgabe ſein kann, einem großen Brudervolke den Fuß auf den Nacken zu ſetzen, noch in gegenſeitigen Kämpfen ſich aufzureiben, ſondern daß es dieſelbe Pflicht hat, wie Frankreich gegen Deutſchland, die Pflicht, gemeinſam mit Frankreich im Geiſte der Neuzeit zu wirken. Im Intereſſe Deutſchlands liegt ein ehrenvoller Frieden mit Frankreich, denn ein ſchimpflicher Frieden würde Nichts ſein, als ein Waffenſtillſtand, geſchloſſen bis dahin, wo Frankreich ſich wieder ſtark genug fühlt, den Schimpf von ſich abzuwälzen. Vor Allem aber iſt es die Pflicht der deutſchen Arbeiter, denen die Einheit der Intereſſen zwiſchen dem deutſchen und dem franzöſiſchen Volke zur heiligen Ueberzeugung geworden iſt, die in den franzöſiſchen Arbeitern nur ihre Brüder ſehen, mit denen gleiches Loos und gleiches Streben ſie einen, ſolchen Frieden für die franzöſiſche Republik zu verlangen. An den deutſchen Arbeitern iſt es, auszuſprechen, daß ſie, im Intereſſe Frankreichs und Deutſchlands, nicht geſonnen ſind, eine Beſchimpfung des franzöſiſchen Volkes zu dulden, nachdem daſſelbe ſich endgültig von dem infamen Friedensbrecher*) losgeſagt.

**Die deutſchen Arbeiter haben daher ſofort in Maſſe ihre Stimme zu erheben für einen ehrenvollen Frieden mit dem franzöſiſchen Volke.**

Kommt der Frieden jetzt nicht zu Stande, ſo wird entweder die franzöſiſche Republik im Blute der Republikaner, im Blute des franzöſiſchen Volkes erſtickt werden — und vor Scham müßte in ſolchem Falle Deutſchland vergehn; — oder aber das freie Frankreich wird wieder, wie zur Zeit der großen Revolution, „die Fremden“ glorreich beſiegen. Darum nochmals: **„Einen ehrenvollen Frieden für Frankreich!“**

Aber man ſagt uns, es ſei zum mindeſten nöthig, daß Frankreich Elſaß und Lothringen genommen wird.

„Die Militärclamarilla, Profeſſorſchaft, Bürgerſchaft und Bierthehauspolitik — ſo ſchreibt uns einer unſerer älteſten und verdienteſten Genoſſen in London — giebt vor, dies ſei das Mittel, Deutſchland auf ewig vor Krieg mit Frankreich zu ſchützen. Es iſt umgekehrt das probateſte Mittel, dieſen Krieg in eine **europäiſche Inſtitution** zu verwandeln. Es iſt in der That das ſicherſte Mittel, den Militärdespotismus in dem verjüngten Deutſchland zu verewigen als eine Nothwendigkeit zur Behauptung eines **weſtlichen Polens**, des Elſaß und Lothringens. Es iſt das unſeligſte Mittel, den kommenden Frieden in einen bloßen Waffenſtillſtand zu verwandeln, bis Frankreich ſo weit erholt iſt, um das ver-

*) Dieſer infame Friedensbrecher iſt in deutſchen Händen; wenn es eine Gerechtigkeit gibt, ſo muß ſeine Ehrate der franzöſiſchen Republik ausgeliefert und von dieſer als gemeiner Verbrecher abgeurtheilt werden. Jede Handlung im Intereſſe Napoleon's iſt für Deutſchland eine Schmach.

Lieber Bebel, Liebknecht & Genossen, Ich habe es mir versagt, Ihnen Ratschläge zu geben, weil Sie mir nicht Gelegenheit gaben, Ihre Lage zu übersehen. Jetzt aber, wo Sie selbst Rat suchen, will ich Ihnen meine Ansicht nicht vorenthalten. Ihr Friedrich Engels

Manifesto of the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, September 5, 1870 (first page), with Engels's remarks

Council meeting Oct. 4. 12

Members present: Eccarius, Hales J. Hales W. Lapatine, Lessner, Lucraft, Mora, Townshend, Bradnick

Cit. Townshend in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Frederick Engels, proposed by Cit. Mora seconded by Eccarius was unanimously elected.

Cit Mora remarked that Gladstone had only spoken of one date & the deputation when Malmesbury had been in office but Palmerston had recognised the Coup d'état before the French had had any chance of voting upon it.

Cit Hales said Gladstone had evaded the question as much as he had been able & stood upon technicalities

Cit. Lucraft should like to ask Mora's opinion as to what we could do here to help the Republic.

Cit Marx said that he had declared from the first that nothing could be done but pressing upon the Government the necessity of recognition & getting up a movement against the Russianism of the middle class & their Government.

Cit Hales was afraid that many English workmen were content to accept Gladstone's reply.

Cit. Lucraft thought it a pity that people like the Reform should take upon themselves to act in the name of the working class.

Cit. Hales said that they were free from a desire of gaining notoriety. The object of the deputation had not been to impress their opinion upon Gladstone but to ascertain his & shape their own.

Cit. Marx said Gladstone's speech must be taken together with Bruce's in Scotland. If we waited a little the government might commit more blunders & then we might perhaps issue another address.

Cit. Hales said we had no power in this Country like we had elsewhere. Associations cropped up & fell through from mismanagement. There was an Association now trying to take up our ground. No Association could stop as we. On the Continent we had taken the directing power. There were continually demonstrative meetings where the Council could make propaganda.

Page of the Minute Book containing an entry on Engels's election to the General Council

Cit. *Eccarius* reported what had been done respecting the demonstration, the deputation to Gladstone had been hit upon because there had been no funds for a large meeting.[41]

Cit. *Harris* was of opinion that the members of the Representation League[42] were all in the hands of the treasury. The International ought to have nothing to do with it.

Cit. *Milner* thought we ought to league with anyone who was willing to move in the direction of Republicanism.

Cit. *Eccarius* said the question of interfering by force of arms in favour of the Republic had been clearly stated to Gladstone.

Cit. *Marx* said: on some future occasion he would call the attention of the Council to the Treaty of Paris[43] at which Earl Clarendon had signed away the English means of attack. England could never compete with the Continental armies on land; the maritime power was her strength. The best means of defence consisted in the power to attack.

The Treaty of Paris must be repudiated. It laid down the principle that enemy's goods should not be destroyed, but it permitted the killing of the enemy; it was middle-class morality. The working classes ought to be made acquainted with these facts to show them how they had been defrauded.

The Secretary* was authorised to send copies of the war addresses to members of Parliament and to such addresses as had not been supplied with the first edition, and to make arrangements with Truelove for the sale of the surplus numbers.

It was also resolved that some might be distributed at public meetings.

The Council adjourned at half past ten.

*WILLIAM TOWNSHEND*
*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*October 4*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Hales J.*, *Hales W.*, *Lopatin*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Marx*, *Townshend*, *Bradnick*.

Cit. *Townshend* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. Frederick Engels, proposed by Cit. *Marx*, seconded by Cit. *Eccarius*, was unanimously elected.

Cit. *Marx* remarked that Gladstone had only spoken of one date to the deputation—when Malmesbury had been in office, but Palmerston had recognised the coup d'état before the French had had any chance of voting upon it.[44]

Cit. *Hales* said Gladstone had evaded the question as much as he had been able and stood upon technicalities.

Cit. *Lucraft* should like to ask Marx's opinion as to what we could do here to help the Republic.

Cit. *Marx* said that he had declared from the first that nothing could be done but pressing upon the Government the necessity of recognition and getting up a movement against the Prussianism of the middle class and their Government.

Cit. *Hales* was afraid that many English workmen were content to accept Gladstone's reply.

Cit. *Lucraft* thought it a pity that people like the League** should take upon themselves to act in the name of the working class.

Cit. *Hales* said that few were free from a desire of gaining notoriety. The object of the deputation had not been to impose their opinion upon Gladstone but to ascertain his, and shape their own.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 120-21 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Labour Representation League.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* said Gladstone's speech must be taken together with Bruce's in Scotland.[45] If we waited a little the Government might commit more blunders and then we might perhaps issue another address.

Cit. *Hales* said we had no power in this country like we had elsewhere. Associations cropped up and fell through from mismanagement. There was an association now trying to take up our ground. No association could [manage] things so well as we. On the Continent we had taken the directing power. There were continually democratic meetings where the Council could make propaganda. Two or three years ago we had paid visits to trade societies and been well received. He then inquired what was to be done with the report of the Finance Committee.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by *Lessner*, it was resolved that it be put on the order of the day for the next meeting.

The Council adjourned at $10^1/_2$ o'clock.

*WILLIAM TOWNSHEND*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*October 11*

Members present: *Boon*, *Caihil*, *Eccarius*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Lopatin*, *Lessner*, *Milner*, *Marx*, *Engels*, *Applegarth*, *Weston*, *Townshend*.

Cit. *Townshend* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read a letter from the Rev. O'Neil of

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 121-25 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Birmingham desiring the opinion of the Council on a proposition for arbitration between the belligerent powers. The Secretary was instructed to reply that arbitration was out of the question at the present moment, that the only thing that could be done was to hold meetings to compel the Government to recognise the Republic.

Cit. *Marx* announced that further arrests had taken place in Germany but that at Berlin and Munich meetings had taken place against the policy of the Prussian Government.

He had also received a letter from one who had been at Lyons on the occasion of the second revolution[46]; he had helped to create a Committee of Public Safety on the 23rd of September. Bakunin had demanded the abolition of all official powers and the organisation of the country. On the 27th some 30,000 men had proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville to demand arms and the dismissal of all Bonapartist functionaries. Two men, Bakunin and Cluseret, had been arrested on the steps, but the people had disarmed ten companies of the National Guard and obtained a complete victory and entered the Hôtel de Ville. General Gluseret had then been entrusted with the defence of the place but [he had] done nothing. Decrees had been presented to arrest everybody and proclaim the abolition of the state but no one had had the courage to sign them. Some 20,000 had remained at the post but there must have been a secret backdoor to the Hôtel de Ville whence the National Guards had burst in upon the Committee and shoved them out. On the 29th the writer had accepted a commission to go to Switzerland.

At Rouen our people had a certain space granted them in a local newspaper; they had protested against the doings at Lyons.

Cit. *Robin,* who had been expelled from Brest, stated [that] on Saturday* the members of the International had

* October 1, 1870.—*Ed.*

held a meeting and voted that a Committee of Defence and Vigilance should be appointed to watch the course of events. It had further been resolved that a deputation from the meeting should wait on the municipal authority in the morning. As soon as it had become [known], the square in front of the Hôtel de Ville had been lined with National Guards every one of whom had received six ball cartridges as if to repel an invasion. Of the twenty-five composing the deputation only two had been admitted. While inside, the members outside had heard cries of treason and on attempting to fly to the rescue the whole of the twenty-five had been arrested. The exasperation at the conduct of the town authorities was great. Robin himself had declared at a public meeting that the Republic must be maintained even by a revolution if necessary for this; if it had not [been] for his family, who had conferred with the *maire* and the prefect, he would have been imprisoned. As it was he had been obliged to leave. The members who had been condemned under the Empire had only been imprisoned a fortnight, they had been released when the Republic had been proclaimed but, having lost their places in the dockyard, the new marine prefect had refused to re-admit them. This was real spoliation as they had to pay a considerable amount of money to get in and now pension and all was lost.

Cit. *Hales* then presented the report of the Finance Committee. The books had been examined but there were no vouchers for either income or expenditure; there was a great mismanagement and the income could only be taken on trust; he could not vouch for the correctness but such as it was the Committee recommended that it be adopted.

He read the balance-sheet since August 1868 and stated the various heads of expenditures. Secretary's salary was the largest, next printing, then rent. No progress could be made unless the expenditure was reduced. Secretary's salary and rent took too much out of the total income. The

Committee therefore recommended that another place of meeting be engaged and the Secretary's salary reduced to five shillings a week, which would amply compensate for the amount of labour performed which was calculated not to average more than one day a week. It was further recommended that a book with printed receipts be introduced so that there was a check on the income that all money be paid to the Treasurer, and that the duties of the Secretary be defined.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Applegarth* the report respecting the accounts was adopted.

Respecting the recommendations the *Secretary* said that the Committee had evaded the question which had originated it. The Committee had been appointed when there had been between 13 and 14 pounds owing and the Committee had been appointed to find out ways and means to prevent such a state of things for the future, instead of which provisions were proposed as to who was to keep the money that might be in hand. He further stated that he would be obliged to resign the secretaryship whether the recommendations were adopted or not, but he spoke against reducing either rent or Secretary's salary. Means ought to be found to double both. An office where the Secretary could sit every day was requisite, and it would be bad policy to reduce the establishment. As to the amount of work, even at 15s. a week, no one would do it except on the principle that tailors worked at soldiers' and policemen's clothing; that was when they could get nothing else. If reckoned at the rate at which such things were paid, the Minutes would average more than 15s. a week. There were besides reports to newspapers and a remuneration of five shillings a week would not pay. Even at 15 shillings no one would accept it except he was impelled by a love for the work. There was a good deal of drudgery connected with it, particularly when much printing was done.

Cit. *Harris* did not think the Secretary so well paid as the secretaries of some other societies. In the benefit societies presents were made to them and then they frequently embezzled money. As for the rent, the Council ought to take a house and the Secretary ought to live in it on paying his own rent. The income of the Association must be increased by some means; to reduce the rent and the salary of the Secretary—[this] could not be done. But whoever should be Secretary in future, his duties ought to be strictly defined.

Cit. *Applegarth* agreed with Cit. Harris as to the taking of a house and moved that the Secretary's salary should remain. His work could not be gauged like another job and a more drudge would not do. Benefit societies' work anyone who could read and write could do; it was not so with our Secretary. He doubted that anyone on the Council would do the work for 5s. a week.

Cit. *Hales* himself would not be prepared to do it. But the Council ought to take a house where lessons could be given in languages and where men could meet, and we would never make any progress until that was done.

Cit. *Boon* said he objected to the reduction of salary but had been given to understand that there were sources of income connected with the secretaryship which made ample compensation. There might be incidental revenues that would come in to make amends.

The *Secretary* said he would give a plain statement as to this incidental income. [At] the last meeting-night before he had left to go to Lausanne complaints had been made that we had not enough publicity. Peter Fox had then told him that he did not care about going to Lausanne; if he was informed every day what was going on, he could do better by stopping here to supply the papers by which a few pounds might be made. At the last Sub-Committee meeting before starting Peter Fox had renounced the written communications and only required to be supplied with

the local papers. Upon this Eccarius had applied to the *Times* and almost by return of post had received a very polite answer that his reports would be received and paid for at the usual scale. He had reported of every Congress since and at the last Congress had received £21. Those reports had done the Association as much good as himself and they would not have been received on account of his being secretary but because they were satisfactorily written. As a set off he had corresponded to several papers abroad connected with the Asociation, for which he had never received anything and he had not received a farthing for making up the Congress reports.* As long as the *Bee-Hive* had been willing to publish reports of our meetings, he had mostly sent close upon a column a week even before he had received any salary. He had worked for twenty years in the cause without receiving any remuneration but he must now leave it to younger people, his pluck had left him. But the Association ought by all means to have a secretary who was well known and a struggle ought to be made to pay at least a pound a week.

Cit. *Hales* said we wanted an able man and the Association might be worked better than it had been. There were men who threw the spirit of a lifetime into a movement that could not be paid for. He knew Eccarius had received money from the *Times* for reports which properly belonged to this Council. He remembered Peter Fox complaining about it.[47] If he could [do] the work he would do it without payment. It was the source of income that must be considered and what a working man could earn at other work. A great number of small trade societies paid less for more work than the Council did; we ought to be honest to all.

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* Apparently a slip of the pen. The reference is to the reports of the General Council meetings.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Boon* objected to the idea that a man working with the men should work for thirty shillings a week, or because the Council could not pay more it should be knocked down as being worth no more. Ordinary mechanics were not satisfied with 5s. a day.

Cit. *Weston* adjourned the debate.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*B. LUCRAFT*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*October 18*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales J.*, *Lopatin*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Rühl*, *Townshend*.

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** communicated the receipt of a letter from the Trades Council of Birmingham inquiring what would be considered as a donation to join. The Secretary was instructed [to write] what was paid by the Carpenters and Bricklayers and leave it to the Birmingham Trades Council to fix the amount, as their joining would be of more importance than the amount of contribution.

Cit. *Marx* announced that the mother-in-law of Serraillier had received a letter by balloon post from her son in Paris, who stated that Serraillier was very active. He also called attention to the fact that the second address on the war had not been published by the papers of the Association

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 125-29 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

in Belgium. He did not think that the National Council should have the right to suppress official documents. It would not be politic to enter into a quarrel at present but a notice of it ought to be placed in the Minutes. He moved that the General Council object to the National Council of Belgium suppressing official documents.

Cit. *Lopatin* seconded. Carried unanimously.

The mover of the adjournment of the debate on the previous night being absent,* the *Secretary* said he had a few words to say** respecting Cit. Hales's statement that he had sold to the *Times* what by right belonged to the Council. The Council might make stipulations that in future no delegate attending any Congress should be permitted to send reports to papers but that was a question to be considered. No written report had as yet been demanded of any delegate but there seemed to be a preconceived notion among some members of the Council that he ought to have done so. At the Geneva Congress there had been Odger, the chief editor of the *Commonwealth*, Cremer, the sub-editor [and] himself the discharged editor, and Carter who understood four languages and could write articles; and all the three, when the papers had arrived with Peter Fox's notice of the Congress, had rushed up to him and asked, "Are you sending any reports to London?" It looked therefore like a settled matter that Eccarius was the literary drudge. He had sent two reports of the Geneva Congress to the *Commonwealth*,[48] the other three delegates mentioned had not sent a line to any one, only Carter had sent the news that Le Lubez had been excluded from the Council. No delegate at any other Congress had ever dreamt of furnishing written reports, nor had they been asked for.

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* Weston.—*Ed.*

** Further, in the MS, the following words are crossed out: "before the proposition was put to the votes."—*Ed.*

But supposing he had sent reports to the Council, instead to the *Times*, they would have come to the knowledge of about a dozen, the rest of the world would have heard nothing of them. If the Council had possessed sufficient funds it might have been worthwhile to pay for their insertion. As an instance how they were appreciated he stated that at the last Congress his first report had not appeared until the day after the Congress had been closed, but of all the extracts that had been made from the French papers during the week the American press had taken no notice, while upon the appearance of his first letter as much as half a column of it had been sent across the Atlantic by the cable. Through the *Times* the Association had become known all over the world and because he had been paid for furnishing these reports some members were offended. Would it have been better if a *Times* man had attended our Congresses?

Cit. *Milner* said this matter had engaged much of his attention. The point he wished to make was this, what was the policy that underlay the proposition of the Finance Committee? It was the cheese-paring policy of the Manchester School. He wants the Association to become respectable, to have a great house and to take up a position in the world. We wanted great efforts to be made but that could not be attained by a cheese-paring policy. The work of the Secretary had no right to be measured by an ordinary trade rule. The Secretary of the Association must be a man of capacity, a man that was known in Europe and America; to get such a one was alone worth the money. So far from fifteen shillings being too much for the kind of work he had to perform it was not near enough, and the time was at hand when more would be required. If the Manchester School cheese-paring policy was introduced we would vanish. If the present Secretary had not in every respect represented the Association in the best light, he had never misrepresented it and that was a great deal. If

the proposition of the Finance Committee was voted it would amount to this: that they had given the Secretary a gratuity for nearly two years, that the Council had been guilty of a job. The Council ought not [to] throw its men out of position, no man [would] do this work for five shillings a week, some could not do it at any price. What had been paid had been fairly earned; the work could not be estimated by ordinary trade rules.

Cit. *Hales* said it seemed that Cit. Milner had created phantoms in his own brain and then set to and demolished them. The Finance Committee had said that the office expenses were too heavy for our income. There were thousands who spend a lifetime in a movement without expecting any pay. The Council ought to be honest. The liabilities ought to be paid and the services rewarded according to our capacity. Cit. Milner said he voted for the 15s. but we had not progressed since we had a paid secretary, we were not so well today as when it had first been voted, we had gone back. There had been a great deal more life in the Association four years ago than there was now. What Eccarius had done had not advanced us, his American secretaryship did not belong to the General secretaryship.

The Secretary had complained very bitterly about what he had said last week. Cit. Boon had revived the question about the *Times* reports; he* could only re-assert that those reports belonged to the Council; any one sent as a delegate was the servant of those who sent him. If the workings of the Council were tested it would be found that no progress corresponding to the Secretary's salary had been made during the time. Cit. Jung had done much and paid money into the bargain and so had other secretaries. We had old debts that ought to [be] paid. We had a right to meet all our liabilities. If this proposition was carried he should insist that every member had a right to propose

* Hales.—*Ed.*

reforms. The Secretary had done some work exceedingly well but some he had not done at all. We ought to consider our financial position. The Council had paid more than it ought to have done.

Upon the vote being taken, six voted that the Secretary's salary remain as it is and one against it.

The proposition that the duties of the General Secretary be defined was carried without opposition.

To the proposition of the Finance Committee that the Finance Committee should have absolute control over the income and expenditure subject to the approval of the Council, Cit. *Marx* moved as an amendment that the office of Financial Secretary be revived.

Cit. *Eccarius* seconded the amendment.

Cit. *Hales* did not wish to be antagonistic but Marx would see that the work would fall lighter on a Committee than on [a] Financial Secretary. The money votes of the Council were not always passed by the same members; sometimes one set was present when money was voted, sometimes another. A Committee should [see to it] that all ordinary liabilities should be discharged. All regular and minor payments could be settled by the Committee, only large sums need be brought before the Council. This was done in all large societies.

The *Chairman** said there were three ways to get over this business, it was for the Council to consider which was best.

Upon the vote being taken, the revival of the office of a Finance Secretary was carried by a vote of 6 for.

The next proposition was that all [money] received on behalf of the Council be paid over to the Treasurer who should give receipts from a book containing counter foils.

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* Lucraft.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* said the Finance Secretary would keep the book, the Treasurer had only to receive and pay away money when authorised by the Finance Secretary. The proposition was carried.

Upon the question of providing the General Secretary with petty cash for small expenses, Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Engels* seconded that* the Treasurer be instructed not to pay any money except [on] written order of the Finance Secretary.** Carried.

The question that the corresponding secretaries keep an account of their expenditure fell through, by one hand being held up for and one against it.

Cit. *Hales* then proposed that the liabilities be discharged in the order in which they were contracted.

Cit. *Milner* proposed as an amendment that the proposition be negatived. The Council would abdicate its function if it agreed to it.

The proposition was negatived and the Council adjourned at 11¼ o'clock.

*CHARLES PFÄNDER*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL****

*October 25*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Lopatin*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Townshend*.

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* Further the words "upon recommendation" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

** Here the following is crossed out in the MS: "The Treasurer should from time to time advance such sums to the General Secretary as were necessary to carry on the business of the Association."—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 130-31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Pfänder* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and with a correction confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* proposed Cit. Robin as a member of the Council. He stated that Robin had been a member of the Paris Federal Council, that he had been condemned to imprisonment in June and released after the declaration of the Republic, had then gone to Brussels whence he had been expelled and sent back to Paris, but Paris had been besieged, then he had joined his family at Brest where he had been threatened with arrest if he did not leave.

Cit. *Lopatin* seconded the nomination.

The *Secretary** stated that two members of the International had been tried at Hanover for circulating the Brunswick manifesto[49] and had been acquitted, but they had been sentenced to two months' imprisonment for exciting the citizens to hatred against the Government by their conduct generally.

Cit. *Marx* stated the first part of our second address had appeared in the *Internationale*[50] of Brussels. The *New York Tribune* had published a favourable history of the Association. Cit. Lafargue was making great propoganda at Bordeaux. Picard had published in his paper** that some members of the International had been in the pay of Napoleon but on being challenged to prove his assertions he had backed out. In the whole of the papers of Napoleon nothing had been found against any member of the International, which was rather a wonder that among so many members the police had not been able to buy one. Herr von Schweitzer who pretended to be a friend of the Association had been the only one who had repeated Picard's lies.[51]

Cit. *Lessner* reported that a non-political society in Whitechapel had held a mass meeting in public house to

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** *L'Electeur libre.*—*Ed.*

refute Odger and Bradlaugh and others who had asserted that the German workmen were against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. Mr. Heinemann, Bismarck's editor of the *Hermann*, was the real getter-up of the affair; he and a few Prussian doctors had led the meeting. In consequence of the opposition present they had never as much as mentioned Odger or anyone else that had spoken against Prussia. They had come to no conclusion; the meeting had been adjourned; the oposition had tried to get it to a larger place but the adjourned meeting [had] been voted to be held in the same place; about 130 people had been present.

Cit. *Eccarius* stated there had been no opposition at the second meeting and what had been resolved was published in the *Hermann* as the declaration of the German workmen of London. The Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein would issue a counter-declaration.[52]

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Lessner* seconded that when questions of internal administration are on the order of the day, none but members of the Association shall be admitted to the Council meetings. Carried.

Cit. *Lessner* proposed and Cit. *Marx* seconded Engels as Financial Secretary.

Cit. *Engels* objected that none but working men ought to be appointed to have anything to do [with] the finances.

Cit. *Marx* did not consider the objection tenable; an ex-commercial man was the best for the office.

Cit. *Milner* proposed and Cit. *Townshend* seconded Harris.

*Eccarius* proposed and Cit. *Lopatin* seconded J. Hales.

It was then agreed that the election should stand over.

The Council adjourned at half past ten o'clock.

*CHARLES PFÄNDER,* Chairman

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*November 1*

Members present: *Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Lopatin, Lessner, Marx, Pfänder, Townshend.*

Cit. *Pfänder* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and with an alteration carried.

Cit. *Marx* read a letter from the Pattersonian branch of the Union of the French Language, N.J., U. S., accompanied by a check for £26 6s. 3d.—the result of a collection among the French and German workmen of Patterson for the benefit of the sufferers from the war, half to be given to the French, and half to the Germans.

Cit. Marx read another letter received from Cit. Bolte, the present Secretary of the German branch of New York,[53] stating that a joint meeting of the French and the German sections had been held, at which an address on the war to their brethren in Europe had been adopted. The letter continued that there was a wide field of propaganda in America for the principles of the Association. The antagonism between Labour and Capital was becoming greater every day, the capitalists wanted to get rich quick by means of forcing down wages to the lowest point. The trade unions were in a state of dissolution. The English-speaking trade unionists were for homeopathic remedies, they wanted to cure society by becoming capitalists themselves by means of co-operative societies and other little schemes, they talked of re-elections but there was no such thing, every office was obtained for money, and those who invested money to get an office made up for it when they got it. One great cause of the deterioration of the workpeople was that the waste lands were getting beyond their

* The Minutes were taken first by Pfänder and then by Eccarius on pp. 131-35 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

reach because they were too poor to move out in anything like numbers large enough to relieve the labour market.

Mention was made of advice given by Cit. Dupont that the French and the German sections should establish a Central Committee for United States. Cit. Marx observed that Dupont must have made a mistake as no such instructions had been given. The address on the war was to the effect that the crushing of the insurrection of June 1848 had left everything as it existed before; the cry of order had been raised against the work-people by the different political parties; Napoleon had been engaged for four years to keep order, but he had played false, he had only executed the commission on condition of gathering the lion's share of the public plunder, and having his situation made permanent, 18 years after he had felt his position unsecure and declared war to strengthen it; was it not better to be a prisoner in Wilhelmshöhe than to be hanged on a Paris lamp-post? By his surrender he had transferred the sword to keep order in Europe to stronger hands and the King of Prussia* had accepted the mission; the partition of France was to serve as a salve for the German war wounds; the defeat of Napoleon had been brought about by the pilferings of the December Band; the address concluded as follows:

"The emotion of the King of Prussia on accepting this mission, his benevolence to the leader of the December Band when making his exit, his installation as beneficiary of this Society show him distinctly to be the true successor of his worthy predecessor. His costly and bloody efforts to transform France into a catacomb, her cities into heaps of ashes demonstrate how strictly he performs the duties of his new office.

"And ye working men of all countries would be quiet spectators to all those crimes? Would look serenely on the perpetuation of wages-slavery and military despotism? No, no, *thousand times no*. Rise then, all ye labourers, whether you are wearing the blouse or the uniform, standing in the workshop or in the line of battle, raise your voice

* Wilhelm I. *Ed.*

in thundering tones against this wickedest of all wars, commanding 'Halt!' to this slaughtering of men. 'Halt!' we say and repeat saying, if the heads of all Chief Commanders and Princes should tumble down.

"The working men of all countries and continents have but one motto, one battle-cry:

"Death to wages-slavery!
"Death to military despotism!"

Another letter was received from the French Secretary* enclosing a French copy of the same address.

The next letter read was from Cit. Lafargue at Bordeaux[54]; he stated that they had founded a paper, and that the middle classes had done everything to suppress it, the printer had been intimidated and had refused to go on printing it, but they had now succeeded in making a contract with another which secured them against a stoppage; he was directed as Corresponding Secretary to announce the formation of a Bordeaux section; an active propaganda had commenced, the section should like to be put in communication with Lyons and Marseilles.

Cit. Aubry wrote from Rouen that the administration of Rouen and Normandy was still in the hands of Bonapartist officials who frightened the people against the working men; nevertheless the meetings of some 5,000 working men and women had made an impression on the Committee of Defence; General Coutin, the Commandant of Rouen, had told the people that he was a friend of the Prince of Prussia, that the Prussian officers were jolly fellows; if they came to Rouen they would give balls and parties, and would revive trade. The General had been guilty of treasonable actions, by keeping the Mobile Guards marching and countermarching from one place to another far away to keep them out of the way of the Prussians, wherever they were sent away. A working men's deputation to Gambetta, of which Aubry had been a member, had succeeded in getting

* Eugène Dupont. *Ed.*

General Coutin dismissed. His journey to Tours had confirmed what he had suspected before: that Gambetta was a phrase-monger, who was afraid of the people and had more confidence in the partisans of Bonaparte than in any labour organisations. In our conversation he told us that the Government could not do everything, that much depended upon the people taking the initiative, but every time we do [it] we counter the men of the Empire, who are backed by Gambetta. Aubry himself was considered as the organiser of robbery, and had been threatened to be shot, he was apprehensive that he should have to give it up yet and come to England, but he would hold out to the last. No meeting was ever held without the Military Guards being doubled. At one of their meetings a battalion of *Garde Mobile*, a company of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry had occupied the approaching streets to frighten the people. They had denounced the crew who instigated all these proceedings, but they were the companions of Gambetta's youth. *Franc-tireurs* laying in ambush for the Prussians were betrayed by the officials; he feared that they would restore the Empire. He believed the facility with which Paris had proclaimed the Republic to be the cause. If it had required a struggle the whole of France would have been seized with enthusiasm and turned the tricksters adrift. Revolutions without a fight for them were no use. The thing which frightened the bourgeoisie was the National Debt that could be incurred by the war. They were afraid that after the war was over the interest would not be paid. If the Prussians would guarantee the payment of the interest on the National Debt, he believed the capitalists would assist them in conquering France.*

Respecting the question of a Central Committee at New York Cit. *Marx* said there was nothing against forming a Federal Committee to represent the French and the Ger-

* Further the Minutes are in Eccarius's hand.—*Ed.*

man sections but they must not presume to represent the Yankee element.[55]

*It was then agreed that the answer should be that they might establish a Federal Committee, but must [not] call* themselves the Central Committee of the United States.

Cit. *Robin* stated that he had seen in the Belgian papers that new troubles had occurred at Cockerills' works at Seraing. A reduction of wages first 10 per cent, then another 5 per cent had been made. At first the men had seemed willing to submit but after some consideration they had struck. The International was not blamed this time but it was said the strike was got up by some leaders. The *maire* had suspended the Constitution and forbidden more than five persons to meet. 30 men had been arrested. The new *procureur général* had proclaimed, both at Liège and Brussels, a new crusade against the subversive doctrines of the International.[56]

The election of the Financial Secretary was again postponed.

*HERMANN LOPATIN*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*November 8*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Marx*, *Lopatin*, *Lessner*, *Pfänder*, *Townshend*, *Milner*.

Cit. *Lopatin* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. Robin was unanimously elected a member of the Council.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 136 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary** read a letter from the editor** [of] *Potteries Examiner*[57] soliciting the aid of the Council to establish a co-operative printing company; if nothing else, an encouraging letter would be of service.

The Secretary was instructed to reply that the Council could give no pecuniary aid but would give its moral support by supplying reports, etc.

The election of the Finance Secretary was then proceeded with. Cit. Harris received seven votes and Cit. J. Hales two. Cit. Harris was declared duly elected by the *Chairman*.***

There being no other business before the chair, the Council adjourned to enable the Secretary to attend the meeting at the Bell and to tell the Anglo-French Intervention Committee[58] that meetings on Tuesday night could not be attended by members of this Council because they interfered with our meetings and that it would be desirable to avoid it in future.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

*GEORGE MILNER*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL*****

*November 15*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Lopatin*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*.

Cit. *Milner* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* Eccarius. *Ed.*

** William Owen. *Ed.*

*** Lopatin. *Ed.*

**** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 137 of the Minute Book.– *Ed.*

The *Secretary* read a letter from Hume of New York stating he would issue no more of the cards which the Council had disapproved and that Osborne Ward was making active propaganda.

Another letter was read from a cork-cutter of Hull applying for Rules.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had received a letter from New York[59] announcing that a mass meeting was to be held of the French, German, and Yankee workmen in favour of the French Republic. He also announced that Senator Sumner had lectured on the war and quoted the addresses of the International.

Cit. *Engels* read from the *Volkswille* that the Central Working Men's Association of Vienna* had been re-established but with very stringent rules. The classes and lectures will be subject to the ordinary school rules.[60]

Cit. *Marx* referring to the dispatch of Gorchakov[61] said the English Government would soon find out that England was concerned in the war. It might be interesting on some future night to review the Treaty of Paris.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

*WILLIAM TOWNSHEND*

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

*November 22*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Lopatin*, *Robin*, *Townshend*, *Stepney*.

Cit. *Townshend* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* The Vienna Workers' Educational Association.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 138-39 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

CORRESPONDENCE

France. A letter from Brest stated that between the 2nd and 10th of October all the twelve members of the Brest Committee* had been arrested. Some had given evidence against others and had been quickly released. The trial had taken place on the 27th and 28th [of] October before the 1st Council of War upon the charge of conspiring against the interior of the State. The three men who had formed the deputation from the public meeting held to consider the defence of the country had been found guilty and two condemned to two years' imprisonment each and one to one year. The section had dwindled down from 27 to 15 members and there were three families, who were in great distress, to provide for. With the utmost exertion only from 20 to 30 francs a month could be brought together. They felt it very inconvenient to be cut off from Paris.

Cit. *Lopatin* stated that some documents from the papers of Napoleon had been published in the Russian papers concerning the International.** On the eve of the plebiscite Ollivier had written to all the towns of France that the leaders of the International must be arrested else the voting could not be satisfactorily proceeded with. To Rouen he had written that one of the most notorious members was there and, being asked upon what charge he was to be arrested, Ollivier had replied on the charge of belonging to an unauthorised society, insinuating at the same time that more serious matters were in evidence against him, this would be found by and by when the papers of all the members were seized. Ollivier had stated in those letters that the members of the International generally distinguished themselves by the violence of their remarks against the Government. They should use every severity towards

* The Committee of Vigilance and National Defence.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 118-19 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

the more educated, particularly lawyers, but treat ignorant workmen as lenient as possible. Cit. Lopatin stated that the railways in Southern Russia had been doubled to facilitate the transport of soldiers, and the army was also to be increased.

The Council adjourned at half past ten.

*F. ENGELS*, Chairman

*JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*November 29*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Lessner*, *Robin*, *Stepney*.

Cit. Kolb and Handwerck attended from the Helvetia.

Cit. *Engels* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

### CORRESPONDENCE

Holland. A letter from Amsterdam, enclosing coupons to the value of 8s. 4d., the contribution for 100 members, was received and the [General] Secretary, in the absence of the Dutch Secretary, instructed to reply.

France. A letter from Rouen announced the receipt of the money sent from America. Cit. Aubry, the writer, complained that he had no news from Marseilles and other places, and expressed doubts about the safe carriage and delivery. The war, he thought, was becoming popular. The middle-class Republicans had to rely on the revolutionary working class. The Bonapartist reaction had frightened the

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 139-40 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie so much that the working men had been armed to resist it. William and Bismarck were laying the foundation to the universal Republic. They did for the present state of society what Robespierre had done for feudalism, he ruined it. 50,000 armed men had left Rouen.

England. A letter from the Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council to Cit. Dupont had been received by Cit. *Marx*, enclosed in a letter from Dupont.[62] Cit. Dupont demanded documents, pamphlets, etc., and credentials to act as representative of the Association. The letter from the Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council contained the following resolution:

"That this Council entertains the opinion that we accord the International Working Men's Association our moral support in all its various undertakings throughout the whole industrial world."

This resolution had been passed in consequence of Cit. Dupont waiting on the Council. The Secretary was instructed to reply to the letter.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Cit. *Marx* communicated that our Brunswick friends had been brought back from Lötzen in chains to be tried for high treason. To frighten the middle classes the police organs published long articles to tell the people that these men were nothing less than allies of that International Association [which] strove to subvert everything and establish the universal Republic. The protest against the continuance of the war, it was stated, had been issued upon the command of the General Secretary for Germany, Karl Marx.[63] Dr. Schweitzer had been obliged to vote against the war loan. At Mayence the working men fraternised with the French prisoners of war.

Cit. *Robin* announced that a demonstration had taken place in Belgium, at Verviers, to present a claim for work

by the unemployed.[64] They were discontented with the Government for giving the public works, such as the razing of the fortifications at Charleroi, to contractors. The people had been treated very civilly, their application was to be considered. At Ghent a demonstration had been prevented by a notice that a deputation without accompaniment of a demonstration would be received on Sunday, Nov. 28th.*

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by Cit. *Harris*, credentials were voted to Cit. Dupont making him the representative of the Association in Manchester and the County of Lancaster.

The Council then adjourned at 10 o'clock.

*C. PFÄNDER*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

*December 6*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Marx*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Stepney*.

Cit. *Pfänder* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

### CORRESPONDENCE

Collet wrote a letter from Neuchâtel appealing to the Council to assist him in getting up an ambulance for Garibaldi's corps.[65] By putting socialism in the background, he thought, money might be got from the liberals.

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* A slip of the pen. November 28 was a Monday. *Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 141 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by Cit. *Engels*, the Council passed unanimously to the order of the day.

San Francisco. A letter from San Francisco announced the formation of a French section which applied for affiliation.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and Cit. *Engels* seconded that the Secretary should make out a list of the attendance of the members for the last three months. Carried.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

*G. E. HARRIS*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*December 13*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Robin*, *Kolb*.

Cit. *Harris* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

### CORRESPONDENCE

America. A letter from New York announced the formation of a Czechian section in that town.[66] The affiliation of the section was carried by a unanimous vote.

Holland. Cit. *Marx* announced the foundation of a section at The Hague.

A deputation attended from the Elastic Web-Weavers' Association.

Mr. *Dry* stated that the society had assisted on many

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 141-43 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

occasions when appealed to; they required assistance themselves now, having 30 of their members on strike. The purport of the deputation was to ask the Council to lend its assistance in their applications for support. They only received 10s. a week from the Amalgamation and out of that they had had to expend £4 to send men back who had come from Leicester to take up their work. The cause of the strike was to resist a reduction of wages. Two years ago a list had been agreed to for London and country alike. Some weeks back their employer had stated that Leicester manufacturers paid so much less than he did, they undersold, they must therefore consent to reduction of wages. He had offered 2s. ½d. for what used to be 2s. 9d. They had then come to an agreement to make a dozen yards for 2s. 4½d. for three months, but the second week he had said he must [take] 6d. off. They had sent a delegate to Leicester who had reported that more was paid there for certain work than in London.

Another complaint was that Hales, contrary to agreement, had introduced female labour. The women received only two-thirds at piece work for the same labour as the men. It was also supposed that Hales had informed the employer that they had no funds in hand to strike and were not entitled to any from the Amalgamation. Hales had been expelled from the Union and his expulsion ratified by the Central Executive. Hales had stuck to several books which he charged to the society. A letter from Parnell from Derby was read in which it was insinuated that Hales had put £7 of the society's money and entered it in the Treasurer's book as paid over.*

Cit. *Marx* said it was no use appealing to Continental sections, they were not in a position to give anything just now; but they [the strikers] were entitled to the support of London societies to whom an appeal ought to be made.

* See p. 97 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* said the best mode of proceeding would be to give the society credentials and a list of the addresses of the affiliated societies. The deputation declared that would satisfy them, upon which it was agreed to.

The deputation was enjoined to send the charge upon which Hales had been expelled in writing as the Council could not pass the matter over, Hales being a member of the Council. The deputation then withdrew.

The *Secretary* then read a list of the members and the number of times they had been absent since the beginning of September.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that it be entered on the Minutes and that in future the absent members be noted down as well as those present so that it might be laid before the Congress.

Cit. *Engels* seconded, with the qualification absent without a cause. Carried.

Cit. *Lessner* handed one pound over from the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein for the support of the families of the imprisoned Socialist Democrats in Germany.

The Secretary was instructed to pay the printer's bill of £4 7s. 6d. to Truelove.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*B. LUCRAFT*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*December 20*

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales J.*, *Harris*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Marx*, *Pfänder*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 143-47 of the Minute Book. *Ed.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

## CORRESPONDENCE

The *Secretary** announced the receipt of a letter from the Secretary of the New York Labour League.[67] He had brought another letter by mistake but stated that the New York Labour League had resolved to join the International Working Men's Association and asked for replies to the following questions:

1st. Would it necessitate a change in the Constitution and Bye-Laws of the League?

2nd. Was a diploma or certificate of affiliation given and what was the cost?

3rd. What were the contributions they would have to pay?

It was agreed that the Secretary should reply to the different questions, to apply for a copy of the Rules of the League for the inspection of the Council, and to send the Rules and other documents of the Association.

Cit. *Marx* had received a letter from the French and German sections of New York announcing their intention to establish a Central Committee for the United States for the better carrying on of the propaganda, the collection of contributions for the Council and the affiliation of societies.[68] It was intended to establish local committees everywhere where more than two societies existed that belonged to the Association.

London. A letter from the Elastic Web-Weavers announced that in consequence of a law-suit they were not able to attend and asked that the hearing of their complaints against J. Hales be put off till after Christmas, promising to furnish written particulars in the meantime.

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Belgian Congress. Cit. *Robin* proposed that a letter be sent to National Congress of Belgium, which was to assemble on Christmas day, to ask the delegates to furnish a list of the Belgian sections and the number of their members and to urge upon [them] to pay their annual contributions to the Council better than they had hitherto done. It had been resolved at previous Congresses to do so but it had not been carried out. He knew that in France and Switzerland there were also irregularities in the payment of contributions but they were unavoidable, the Belgians however had no excuse; the Council ought to receive something like 6,000 francs a year, and it only required looking after.

Cit. *Marx* did not consider it advisable to ask for money just now. The workmen on the Continent were in great distress, the Council ought therefore not to press for money. Respecting the list of members it would not be well to publish what the real strength was as the outside public always thought the active members much more numerous than they really were. Hins had sent a list three months ago, the Council might ask for a new one but not for publication, only for the information of the Council.

Cit. *Robin* thought it right to ask for money as many sections had no other expenses than their contributions to the Council.

Cit. *Marx* had no objection but it must be done in a mild way.

It was agreed that a letter should be written in that sense.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Hales*, seconded by Cit. *Marx*, Cit. Engels, in the absence of the Belgian Secretary, was instructed to write.[69]

The *Chairman** then asked Cit. Harris if he knew anything of the New York Labour League. He replied that

* Lucraft.—*Ed.*

it consisted of a set of working men, who, in conjunction with the New Democracy, were determined to agitate the currency and other reform questions; he knew them well and knew as earnest men in the work they had undertaken. At St. Louis it had also been resolved to enter into correspondence with the Council, a letter would soon be received.

Cit. *Hales* said he had heard a note read from the Elastic Web-Weavers from which it appeared that there was a charge [upon] himself and he wished to know what it was.

The *Secretary* stated that a deputation from that society had attended on the previous night to solicit support in a strike and it had been stated that Hales had been expelled from his society, upon which the Council had asked them to forward the particulars in writing as the expulsion of a member of the Council from his trade society could not be passed over without inquiry. These particulars had not yet been furnished but the society had asked for postponement till after Christmas.

Cit. *Boon* said if Hales had been present when the Minutes were read he would have heard all that had transpired; he therefore proposed that the part of Minutes relating to it be read again but that no discussion should be entered into. This was agreed and the Minutes read.

Cit. *Hales* said the letter of Parnell he should treat with the contempt it deserved. He had received a letter of apology from Parnell but burnt it. He had been expelled from the Union in August last on the same proposition that had been made to expel him in 1867. He always advocated that the Union should have nothing to do with sex. The women had worked in the trade ever since it had arisen. The Union had been for excluding the women, he had been against it, that was his offence. The men had not struck against such a reduction of wages as they stated, that was a lie.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that at its rising the Council should adjourn till the 3rd of January and that the Council should

empower a committee to act if in the mean[time] it should become necessary to prepare something concerning the prosecution of our members in Germany for publication and to submit it to the Council on the next meeting-night.

Cit. *Engels* seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

Cit. *Hales* proposed and Cit. *Harris* seconded that Marx, Engels, Robin and Eccarius form the Committee. Carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*GEO E. HARRIS*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

ATTENDANCE OF MEMBERS*

*from September to December 1870*

| | September 6 13 20 27 | October 4 11 18 25 | November 1 8 15 22 29 | December 6 13 20 | Present | Absent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Applegarth | + | + | | | 2 | 14 |
| Boon | + + + | + | | + | 5 | 11 |
| Bradnick | + | + + Out of town | | | 3 | 13 |
| Caihil | | + | | | 1 | 15 |
| Cohn | + | | + | | 2 | 14 |
| Eccarius | + + + + | + + + + | + + + + + | + + + | 16 | No |
| Engels | | + + + + | + + + + | + + + | 11 | 1 |
| Hales J. | + + | + + + | | + | 6 | 10 |
| Hales W. | + | + Out of town | | | 2 | 14 |
| Harris | + + + + | + + + + | + + | + + + + | 12 | 4 |
| Jung | + + Ill | | | | 2 | 14 |
| Lopatin | + + | + + + + | + + + + | Out of town | 10 | 4 |
| Lessner | + + + | + + + + + + | + | + + | 12 | 4 |
| Lucraft | + | + + | | + | 4 | 12 |

* The table is in Eccarius's hand on p. 148 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

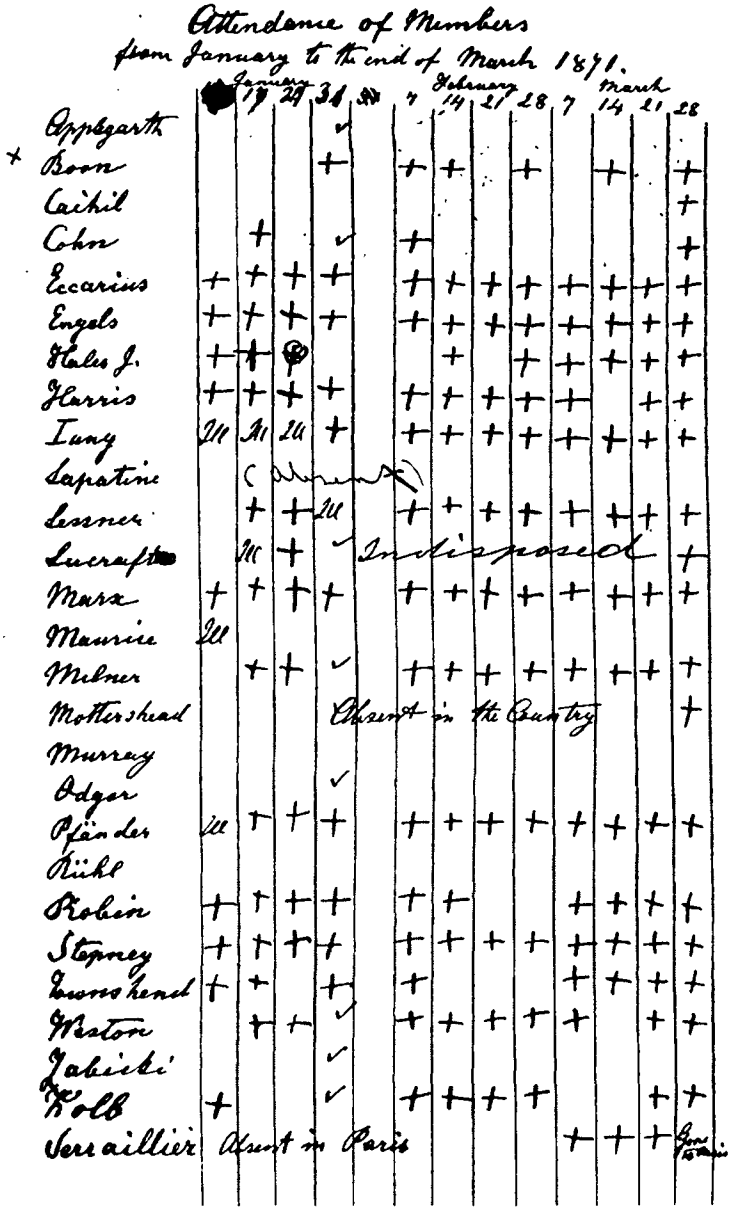


Table of attendance at meetings by General Council members (January-March 1871)

| | September 6 13 20 27 | October 4 11 18 25 | November 1 8 15 22 29 | December 6 13 20 | Present | Absent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marx | + + + + | + + + + | + + + | + + + + | 15 | 1 |
| Milner | + + + + | + + + | + + | + + + | 12 | 4 |
| Mottershead | + | | | | 1 | 15 |
| Murray | + Gone to America | | | | 1 | 15 |
| Maurice | Ill | | | | No | 16 |
| Odger | | | | | No | 16 |
| Parnell | Out of town | | | | No | 16 |
| Pfänder | + | + | + + + | + + + | 8 | 8 |
| Rühl | | + | | | 1 | 15 |
| Stepney | Out of town | | + + | + + + | | |
| Townshend | + | + + + + + + + + | + | + | 12 | 4 |
| Weston | + + + | | | | 3 | 15* |
| Zabicki | | | | | No | 16 |
| Robin | | | + + + | + + + | | |
| Kolb | | | + | + + | 3 | 1 |

## ATTENDANCE OF MEMBERS**

*from January to the end of March 1871*

| | January 3 17 24 31 | February 7 14 21 28 | March 7 14 21 28 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Applegarth | V | | |
| Boon | + | + + + | + + + |
| Caihil | | | + |
| Cohn | + V | + | + |
| Eccarius | + + + + | + + + + | + + + + |
| Engels | + + + + | + + + + | + + + + |
| Hales J. | + + + | + + | + + + + |
| Harris | + + + + | + + + + | + + + |
| Jung | Ill Ill Ill + | + + + + | + + + + |

* Should be 13.—*Ed.*

** The table is in Eccarius's hand on p. 149 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

| | January | | | | February | | | | March | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3 | 17 | 24 | 31 | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 |
| Lopatin | Absent* | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lessner | | + | + | Ill | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Lucraft | | Ill | + | V | Indisposed | | | | | | | + |
| Marx | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Maurice | Ill | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Milner | | + | + | V | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Mottershead | | | | Absent in the country | | | | | | | | + |
| Murray | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Odger | | | | V | | | | | | | | |
| Pfänder | Ill | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Rühl | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Robin | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + |
| Stepney | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Townshend | + | + | | + | + | | | | + | + | + | + |
| Weston | | + | + | V | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| Zabicki | | | | V | | | | | | | | |
| Kolb | + | | | V | + | + | + | + | | | + | + |
| Serraillier | Absent in Paris | | | | | | | | + | + | + | Gone to Paris |

* Written down by Marx.—*Ed.*

# 1871

## MEETING OF THE COUNCIL*

*January 3*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Marx*, *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Kolb*.

Cit. *Harris* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Kolb* presented credentials from the Helvetia to sit at the Council as their delegate.

He was admitted by a unanimous vote.

### CORRESPONDENCE

London. A letter was read from Mr. Dry of the Elastic Web-Weavers stating that he had been obliged to go to a situation which prevented him attending personally, that a new secretary had been appointed and that if the Council desired to have a personal interview with anyone appointed by the society they would send someone. The letter further gave particulars about Cit. Hales's expulsion from the society.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 150-51 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY LIBRARY

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After some remarks by Cit. *Hales*, Cit. *Engels* said that the society had been requested to furnish a statement in writing but that the Council had not pledged itself to consider the matter that night.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the subject be postponed for a fortnight, that a deputation be invited to attend with any documentary evidence in their possession to make good the charge and if they did not attend to pass then to the order of the day.

Cit. *Townshend* seconded the proposition; carried unanimously.

Cit. *Marx* announced that a letter had been sent to the Secretary* during the holidays about the programme since published as a memorial to Gladstone.[70] He [had] no objection to the document except the last point which might have been altered if the Secretary had convoked the subcommittee as he ought to have done. Instead of this he had signed his name to it privately and he ought not to have consented to having the meeting in St. James's Hall on a Tuesday.

*Eccarius* stated that by a mistake he had sent the letter and programme to Cit. Harris with other things and had accidentally met some members of the Committee, who were getting up the meeting, after everything had been settled; then he had been asked to make one of the Committee, to which he had consented, but he had not been aware that it would be put to the memorial.

Cit. *Marx* was satisfied with the explanation.

Cit. *Harris* stated that Cremer denounced the getters-up of the meeting as Comtists[71] who did not represent the opinion of English working men.

Cit. *Hales* had been appealed to but had declined on account of the last point.

Cit. *Marx* said he must not be understood to object to

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Professor Beesly and his friends; they were the only people who did anything in this question. Cremer's statement was not worth anything. But care ought to be taken in future that members of the Council did not sign one thing here and something opposite elsewhere.

Cit. *Marx* then proposed that subscriptions be opened for the families of Liebknecht, Bebel, Hepner and others imprisoned in Germany, and call upon the sympathisers to subscribe for their support; they were imprisoned because they belonged to the International.

Cit. *Engels* seconded the proposition.

Cit. *Hales* supported the motion and proposed that subscription sheets be printed. Carried.

Cit. *Hales* then proposed that 100 sheets be printed.

Cit. *Engels* seconded. Carried.

It was further resolved that an appeal be made in the papers and that money orders be made payable to the General Secretary.

On the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by Cit. *Engels*, it was resolved that at its rising the Council adjourn till January 17.

*CHARLES PFÄNDER*, Chairman

*JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *SUPPLEMENT TO THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING*

### *of January 3**

Cit. *Engels* read a letter from the Madrid section to the General Council.[72] The writer stated that an account of their doings, and [of] their National Congress, had been sent in July last, to which they had not received any reply. They laboured somewhat under difficulties. A political

* Supplement is in Eccarius's hand on p. 152 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

yellow fever had slackened the progress of the movement, almost paralysed it since the confusion of 1868. Like Southern people generally a great too much declamation had been used, which disappointed the people, and they turned their backs to go to other people to be disappointed again. The contributions for the quarter were to be remitted. A statistical account of the Federation was likewise to be furnished. Inquiries were made whether there were any sections in Portugal. They had received papers from Buenos Aires* published by the typographical society who had connections with other places. Correspondence might be opened with a view to form sections.

The instruction for a reply was postponed till the next meeting.

In consequence of a statement in the *Internationale* that Cit. Engels was Secretary for Belgium,[73] it was agreed that Cit. Engels should be the Belgian Secretary for the present.

The Council adjourned at half past ten o'clock.**

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL****

*January 17*

Members present: *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Hales J.*, *Marx*, *Milner*, [*Pfänder*], *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*, *Lessner*.

Cit. *Pfänder* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, without the notice of a letter from Spain, and confirmed under reserve that they should be completed at the next meeting.

* The reference is to several issues of the newspaper *Anales de la Sociedad Tipografica Bonaerense*.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 152-55 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

## CORRESPONDENCE

London. A letter from the Secretary of the Peace Society enclosing a post-office order for one pound was received for the families of the German prisoners. A letter from the new Secretary of the Elastic Web-Weavers was received stating that he had looked over the books of the society and found nothing upon [which] a charge of any kind could be made; he therefore withdrew all that had been said.

Cit. *Engels* proposed that in accordance with the agreement of the previous week the Council pass to the order of the day.

Cit. *Weston* asked questions to which Cit. Engels replied.

Cit. *Cohn* was of opinion that the question should be asked whether the letter was official and moved it as an amendment.

Cit. *Marx* opposed the amendment which was withdrawn and the original resolution carried.

Birmingham. A letter was received from the Secretary of the Trades Council of Birmingham announcing that the Trades Council had resolved to join the Association and asking whether a contribution of one pound per annum would be considered sufficient. A letter with 5s. stamps was received from Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and Cit. *Cohn* seconded that the affiliation should be accepted.

Carried unanimously.

Cit. *Marx* announced that he had sent £5 to the families of the German political prisoners. He was not aware what had been done with the sheets; they ought to be laid out at all the public meetings.

The *Secretary** stated that he had sent sheets to the affiliated societies and others, close upon 50, but received not yet any reply.

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Weston* stated that he had received sheets and introduced the question at some meetings; it had been favourably received, but they were just now collecting money to pay the expenses of their demonstration.

Cit. *Cohn* had sent Cit. Jackson to a meeting with the sheet and the letter but he had not collected any money.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the Swiss Secretary* be instructed to write to the *Felleisen* people in Switzerland to ask them what position they occupied towards the International. They nominally joined the Association, but never paid a farthing and were now in favour of annexation.[74]

The proposition was agreed to.

Cit. *Marx* said as there were several English members present he had a very important statement to make. At the last meeting at St. James's Hall[75] Odger spoke of the French Government contrary to truth. In our second address we said the brand of infamy attaches to some of the members of the provisional government from the Revolution of 1848. Odger said there was not a blame attached to them. Favre can only be received as the representative of the Republic, not as the spotless patriot Jules Favre. The way that is now talked about him put Favre in the foreground and the Republic almost out of sight. One example of Favre's doings. After the Revolution of 1848 Favre became Secretary of the Interior; on account of Flocon being ill, Ledru-Rollin chose Favre. One of the first things he did was to bring back the army to Paris, which afterwards enabled the bourgeoisie to shoot the work-people down. Later, when the people became convinced that the Assembly consisted of middle-class men, the people made a demonstration in favour of Poland on which occasion the people ran into the assembly.[76] The president entreated Louis Blanc to speak to them and

* Jung.—*Ed.*

pacify them, which he did. A war with Russia would have saved the Republic. The first thing Jules Favre did a few days after was to ask for authority to prosecute Louis Blanc as an accomplice of the invaders. The Assembly thought he was instructed by the Government to do but all the other members of the Government denounced [this measure] as the private affair of Favre. The provisional government conspired to provoke the insurrection of June. After the people were shot down Favre proposed that the Executive Committee should be abolished.[77] On the 27th he drew up the decree to transport the prisoners without trial; 15,000 were transported. In November the Assembly was compelled to examine some not yet transported. In Brest alone 1,000 had to be liberated. Of the most dangerous who were tried by a military commission many had to be liberated, others were only sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. Afterwards motions were made for an amnesty, Favre always opposed. He was one of the men who insisted for a commission of inquiry of the whole revolution except February. He was instrumental in the passing of the most infamous press laws[78] that ever existed and of which Napoleon made good use. Favre had certain relations with the Bonapartists under the July monarchy and he used all his influence to get Napoleon into the National Assembly. He interested himself to bring about the expedition to Rome,[79] which was the first step for the establishment of the Empire.[80]

Cit. *Weston* was sorry that the Republic was in such hands and glad to have been present to hear the statement.

A conversation then ensued about the fair play at public meetings, after which the Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*BENJ. LUCRAFT*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*January 24*[81]

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read a letter from Cit. Sorge of New York announcing that the French, German and Czechian sections had formed a Central Committee for the United States[82] and desired addresses of any sections recently formed in the United States for the purpose of entering into communications. The Committee consists of delegates of the various sections. They also asked for documents and cards.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had received a similar letter. It would be recollected that some time since, it had been resolved that they should form a Federal Committee but the letter conveying that resolution had been delayed or it must have miscarried. Siegfried Meyer had written disapprovingly. Cit. Marx had already written and warned them not to give the Committee too much of a delegate character as cliques might establish themselves in that way. It ought to be distinctly stated that the Committee was only for the foreign residents.[83]

Cit. *Engels* did not think that the Council had any right to prescribe forms.

Cit. *Marx* had sent several parcels but they did not seem to have arrived. He had some cards at home which he would forward.

Cit. Marx had also received a letter from Mrs. Liebknecht acknowledging the money sent.[84] She can see her husband

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 155-56 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

once a week in the presence of the judge of instruction. The English working men did not seem to do anything in the way of collecting money. In answer to the Chairman* Cit. Marx stated that about 20 were in prison, most of them had families.

Cit. *Engels* inquired whether any of the members had been at the meeting of the previous meeting**[85] but there was no reply. He then stated as there was a difference of opinion amongst the members it would be advisable to discuss the question as to the attitude of the English working class*** on the present phase of the war at the meeting. He moved that the question be put on the order of the day.

Cit. *Marx* seconded the proposition, which was agreed to.

It was further agreed that no visitors should be present at the discussion.

Cit. *Weston* asked whether the statement made by Cit. Marx at the previous meeting**** had been meant for publication or only for the private information of members. He thought the publication was a very unwise thing, it might do an injury and weaken the Government in France. He hardly believed it when he had been told; there were many who disapproved.

Cit. *Harris* was glad that it had been published; it was high time the English democracy knew what was going on on the Continent. The Peace men knew all about it, why should not others?

Cit. *Engels* thought it would have done a great deal [of] harm if it [had] been published in a daily paper or one [of] the great weeklies which were read by the middle class,

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* Lucraft.—*Ed.*

** Apparently should read "evening".—*Ed.*

*** Originally the word "Council" was written here. This slip of the pen was reproduced in the report of this Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post*, January 28, 1871.—*Ed.*

**** See pp. 106-07 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

but he did not believe that any was done by the publication in such obscure papers as the *Eastern Post*[86] and the *Potteries Examiner* which only circulated among the workpeople.

Cit. *Weston* was not quite satisfied with the reply. Anything that appeared in these obscure papers was sure to get into the hands of the middle class and the "peace at any price" party would make a handle of it. It was not right to bring up these things at certain times, it would be used to deprive the demonstration of its effect.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he made the statement to the English members as private information, he could not have foreseen that it would be published as we had not had any paper in which our reports were published.

The *Chairman* said Cit. Weston had raised a new phantom: the "peace at any price"[87] party of working men, but no one knew where they were to be found.

As there was no business before the chair he should leave the chair and declare the sitting at an end, which he did.

Chairman *CHARLES PFÄNDER*

*JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*January 31*[88]

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Marx*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*.

Cit. *Pfänder* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 157-63 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

## CORRESPONDENCE

New York. The *Secretary** read a letter from the Czechian section of New York[89] in which joy was expressed at the affiliation of the section and a prospect held out of thousands joining at no distant date. It was stated that the Central Committee consisted at present of four delegates.

Switzerland. Cit. *Jung* read a letter from the Secretary** of the Romance Federation of Switzerland.[90] It announced that the *Egalité* had been resuscitated and that it was necessary that it should appear at least twice a month, and that it was desired that the Council should send information. They had received letters from Spain to enter into close communication, but before doing so they desired to know whether the Spanish section was in relation with the Council otherwise they would have no communication with them.

The contributions for 1870 would be sent as soon as possible, there were still a few sections who had not yet paid. They desired to see the old union re-established, for which there was a prospect since the personages who brought on the division had disappeared. A new section had been established at Annecy. In a few days they would send the programme of the Federal Congress which was to be held in February; an expression of opinion on the programme was desired.

Cit. *Marx* announced that the Palma section had published the first number of a new paper called the *Social Revolution**** printed in red, in which were some very foolish observations.[91] It was edited by working men and there would be no harm in telling them what was objectionable. They were reproducing some of the things that had been objected to with the Alliance Démocratique.

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** Henri Perret.—*Ed.*

*** *La Revolucion social.*—*Ed.*

It was agreed to send the resolutions passed at that time.[92]

Cit. Engels was appointed to carry on the Spanish correspondence till a permanent secretary was appointed.

Cit. *Jung* inquired if the Spanish section was in order with the Council, which was answered in the affirmative.

Respecting the discussion, of which notice had been given at the previous meeting, Cit. *Engels* said it was hardly worthwhile to begin, there being only a few English members present.

Cit. *Marx* asked whether the members had been invited to attend; the *Secretary* replied that he had only understood that it was to be advertised in the newspapers.

Cit. *Harris* did not consider it right that those present should be deprived of the discussion on account of the absent ones, and proposed that the discussion be proceeded with, which was supported [and] agreed to.

Cit. *Engels* said: following the advice of the Chairman of the last meeting and complying with an English custom, I have drawn up some resolutions principally as a basis for the debate. I am not particular as regards carrying them exactly as they are. These are the resolutions I have drawn up:

1. That the working-class movement in support of the French Republic ought to have concentrated its efforts, at the beginning, upon the enforcement of the recognition of the Republic by the British Government.

2. That the military intervention of England in favour of France, as understood by those proposing it, could have been of any use whatever at a certain moment only, which has long since passed away.

3. That England remains incapable, not only of interfering with effect in Continental affairs, but also of defending herself against the Continental military despotism so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real war power—that is to say, her naval power, which she

can only recover by the renunciation of the Declaration of Paris.[93]

The policy adopted by the Council was laid in the second address. On the 4th of September the Republic was declared, on the 9th of September our address was issued in which it was said: "The English workmen have already taken measures to overcome, by a wholesome pressure from without, the reluctance of their Government to recognise the French Republic."* Had the movement been confined to that it might have succeeded, other countries would have followed and it would have given France a standing which Prussia could [not] have ignored. But there were others who were not satisfied with this. I mean the Comtists, Professor Beesly and his friends. Professor Beesly has on several occasions stood up bravely for the working class, he braved the hostility of the middle classes in the Broadhead affair,[94] but the Comtists are not properly a working-class party. They advocate a compromise to make wages-labour tolerable to perpetuate it; they belong to a political sect who believe that France ought to rule the world. In their last declaration, which was signed by several members of the Council, they demanded that France should be restored to the position it occupied before the war.[95] Before the war France was a military power. The Comtists asked for intervention and as soon as it was done the working-class movement split up. The opposition said that hitherto war had postponed everything in the shape of social and political progress and every war had given the aristocracy a new lease of life. There is a great deal of truth in that. But on the other hand how could people, who were not able to compel the Government to recognise the Republic, force the same Government to go [to] war for the Republic? Supposing England had gone to war. By withdrawing all armed forces from Scotland, by depriving

* See p. 341 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

every other place of soldiers and leaving only 10,000 in Ireland, some 30,000 men could have been started and they would have been useful at a certain moment. At one time the French and German forces were about equal and Moltke was going to raise the siege, and at that moment an English army might have turned the scales against the Germans. But that moment had long since passed away; it was when there was a sort of revival before Orleans, when Aurelle de Paladines gained his successes. An English force then would have had a good effect upon the French soldiers, it would have improved [their spirit]; then the Germans have been largely reinforced, and the Prussians have such a bad opinion of the army of this country that the English, had they gone over, would have been laughed at; all they could have done would have been to make Chanzy's retreat[96] a little more orderly.

An English army on land can only act in alliance with other armies. This was done in the Peninsular War[97] and it was done in the Crimea. England can best carry on war by supplying her allies with the materials of war. In the Crimea they had [to] borrow French soldiers to fill their trenches. It has always been found impossible to carry on a war far from home with a large army. Owing to the military system—the absence of conscription, the slow process of voluntary recruiting, the system of drill, the length of time it takes to make an English soldier efficient—the English army is based on long service, it is impossible to maintain a large army by the necessary reinforcements. If an army had been sent to France it could not have been kept up if it had met with any losses. The only thing England could have done to assist France would have been to declare war at the moment when Russia repudiated the Treaty of Paris. That point too was alluded to in our addresses. In the first the following is said: "In the background of this suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign that the signal for the present

war should have been given at the moment when the Moscovite Government had just finished its strategical lines of railway and was already massing troops in the direction of the Pruth."* In the second: "As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck,[98] so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gorchakov and Bismarck."** But nobody has taken any notice of that. No sooner had Russia declared against the Treaty of Paris than Bismarck repudiated the Luxembourg Treaty.[99] This proved the secret understanding. Prussia has never been anything else but the tool of Russia. That was the opportunity for England to step in. The French were not quite so low down as they have been since, and if England had declared war Prussia and Russia would have gone together and the rest of Europe would have gone together and France would have been relieved. Austria, Italy and Turkey were ready, and if the Turks had not been interfered with as in the war,*** if they had been allowed to defend themselves in their own way, they would have been able to hold their own while the others helped the French to drive out the Prussians. But, when this opportunity arose, the gentlemen who were going to help France had nothing to say.

Now, the way in which Jules Favre has thrown up the sponge for the whole of France, a thing he had no business to do, there is no doubt, with the help of the French middle class, France will have to submit and peace will be made. Then we shall see what Russia will do. Russia and Prussia require war as much [as] Napoleon to stem the popular movement at home, to preserve their prestige and keep their positions.

The navy is the main power of England but by the Declaration of 1856 a new naval code was established; it

* See p. 327 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** See p. 338 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** Apparently the words "in the Crimea" are missing.—*Ed.*

was laid down that privateering should be done away with. The right of search was abandoned, enemy's goods were made safe in neutral bottoms and neutral goods in enemy's bottoms. There was a similar attempt made once before by the Empress Catherine of Russia but England refused till after the Crimean war.[100] At the Conference of Paris, by one stroke of the pen, Clarendon signed away England's power to hurt Russia at sea. By whose instructions or authority [he] did so has never come out. When it was brought before the House of Commons Disraeli blinked at it, the question was shirked.* To cripple Russia it is necessary to stop her export, her export trade. If the Russian aristocracy could not sell their corn, their flax, in one word, their agricultural produce, to foreign countries, Russia could not hold out for a year, and the bulk of her trade is carried on in foreign bottoms. To make war on Russia England must regain her hold of this power. It was abandoned on the pretence of making private property as safe at sea as it was on land. We have seen how the Prussians have respected private property in France. The working class has no private property to lose, it has therefore no interest in making [it] safe. But the working class has interest in resuming the hold of this power and to keep [it] intact till the Russian Empire is dissolved. The English Empire like all other empires based upon** will have to be dissolved in due time but with that we have nothing to do at present and that will proceed more peaceably perhaps.*** No other country can oppose Russia the same as England can and she must keep this power at least till Poland is restored. Had war been declared against Russia it would have been the salvation of France, and Poland could have

* The last two sentences were inserted later.—*Ed.*

** A gap in the MS.—*Ed.*

*** This sentence was inserted later.—*Ed.*

been restored. Now Russia will enter on a war of conquest; perhaps before a year is over, and Europe will have to fight minus France.

Cit. *Marx* formally seconded the resolutions but reserved the right to speak later.

Cit. *Boon* said: I am exceedingly pleased with what we have just heard. I agree that the main endeavour ought to have been to get the Republic recognised. My experience leads me to think that Republicanism is but little understood in this country. It may be better understood in the North but the London Republicans are more fond of noisy demonstrations, marching under flags and banners with music, than [of] principles. We have no recognised leaders who could unite the London democracy, the consequence is that many camps are formed and the working-class movement split up. I also agree that the Comtists are only going in for a compromise under middle-class leadership, but I do not agree with Cit. Engels that an English army could not have done any good. I believe even a small force could have done a great deal, but I don't believe that the leaders of France understood their business, they do not seem to have heartily entered into the struggle and shared the dangers of the men. That an English army could have done more at a particular moment than at any other time all must agree to. Respecting the navy we have so little power in the state that our rights and liberties can be signed away whenever our rulers like. With our heavy taxation the working classes are afraid to advocate war lest they should be more heavily taxed but there is another reason. Some tell us that our navy is all that is required, others maintain that it is in as bad a state as can be. If we had gone to war, they say, it would have been a failure and we have a prestige to keep up, we cannot afford to make ourselves ridiculous. However, I believe the time is at hand when the working classes of this country will

understand things better and then they will compel the Government to make war for liberty abroad.

Cit. *Jung* made a few remarks about the fear of increasing the taxation.

Cit. *Marx* then moved that the debate be adjourned till the next meeting, which was seconded and agreed to.

The *Secretary* was instructed to summon the absent members to attend the next meeting.

On the proposition of Cit.* seconded by Cit.* it was agreed that the standing orders be set aside and the Secretary authorised to pay Leno a printer's bill of 8s.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*CARL PFÄNDER*, Chairman

*JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL****

*February 7*

Members present: *Boon*, *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

The Minutes of the previous meeting [were] read and with an addition confirmed.

### CORRESPONDENCE

Cit. *Jung* had received news from Guillaume that the *Solidarité* was to re-appear.[101]

He further announced that documents had been published in the second number of the *Egalité* concerning Ollivier's proceedings against the International in France on the eve

* A gap in the MS.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 163-70 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

of the plebiscite.[102] The documents were the same as reported by Cit. Lopatin in the meeting of November 22 from the Russian press. See the Minutes of that date.

The *Secretary** announced that Jacoby had been nominated as candidate for the German Parliament in three different places and that Liebknecht and Bebel had been unanimously selected in their respective districts for re-election. Two of the Brunswick prisoners had also been nominated as candidates.[103]

Cit. *Marx* stated that [having] moved the adjournment of the previous meeting he ought to open the debate but he preferred to wait till others had spoken.

Cit. *Weston* then rose to speak. He said, respecting the first point laid down, that the fittest thing to have [been] done in this country would have been to urge the Government to recognise the Republic, and if the movement had been confined to that it might have been successful; that there would have been unanimity on that point, I cannot endorse. There might have been unanimity among the working class but the working class alone could [not] enforce the recognition of the Republic. The City meeting[104] showed that there were middle-class men ready to go [to] war but there were none ready to recognise the Republic. That there would have been less disagreement among the working class, I am willing to admit.

I now come to what we, or some members of the Council, have done in the matter. The night the news of the proclamation of the Republic arrived I received a notice from some one to gather the sense of the London democracy about the Republic. I went to Odger, I still consider him a representative of the London democracy, but he was in the country. I telegraphed to him and the following Saturday we held the first meeting in Hyde Park. At that meeting we adopted an address of sympathy with the French

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Republic and calling upon the Government to recognise it.[105] That was something done by the members of this Council. Shortly after the Government asserted they had done what it was possible to do, they would not be justified in going any further as that would interfere with the French themselves. I am of opinion the Government would not have done any more, though the whole of working class had agreed, without the middle class. We might have shown a bolder front but it would not have any more effect. In our address we said if Prussia refused to desist from a war of aggression we should use our influence in favour of intervention. To say that England is helpless and powerless to interfere for good is saying what is not true. France was left without an army by the capitulation of Sedan and she has mustered a million fighting men since then, England could have done the same if need had been. It has been hinted how England, in a war with Russia, could have helped by her fleet; even that, if used to assist France, would have helped her greatly, but France was left alone, she was not even patted on the back, she received no moral support except that of the working class of England. We could have put an army of 50,000 men in the field and it is a disgrace that [it] was not done. If the German and the French workmen had made war upon each other, as their governments have done, we should have considered [it] our duty to interfere and prevent it. The English working class, had they been free to act, they would have stepped between. If we saw two men rushing at each other in the street and one knocked the other down and was going to trample on him we should seize him, at least I should, and hold him back to prevent him. If the ruling party of England had a proper spirit it would have done so, that it was not done is a blunder and a crime. But it appears to me that the French have not been for fighting, not prepared to defend themselves as they ought to have done. I cannot see how 400,000 spirited and earnest men

inside Paris could have been [kept in] by 250,000 outside, during four months, and starved into a capitulation. I do not think that an equal number of Englishmen, not even a hundred thousand, would have put up with it. They must have been badly led, there must have been something wrong, either they were not prepared or there was treachery, incapacity or cowardice. As far as the Council is concerned it is our duty to point out to our members on the Continent that Prussia has been the aggressor since Sedan. They ought to execrate and call upon their governments to account for what they have done to France, even at the risk of their personal liberty, incurring even the danger of having their necks stretched. To say that England could have been of service at certain moments only I think wrong; she could be of great service now if really willing to serve; of course, no niggardly assistance, rendered with a begrudging hand, [that] won't do. There is another question upon which I must differ from the opener of the debate. I think it is doing Ireland an injury to think that the Irish would have seized the opportunity to make a disturbance if England had gone to war for France. I think, on the contrary, and many of my Irish friends are of that opinion, that the Irish would have cheerfully supported the English Government if it had gone to war for France. It would not have needed 10,000 English soldiers to keep them down. I am often pained at people casting remarks on the sister country. We have allowed our Government to oppress the Irish, much blame therefore is attached to us, and the Irish cannot well separate the English democracy from the Government. But such remarks as that, that in such an emergency England and Scotland could be left without soldiers but that the Irish required 10,000 to keep them quiet, can only widen the breach.

Cit. *Cohn* said: we must bear in mind that at the outset we had a great difficulty to contend with but we overcame the difficulty. When the war broke out [there] was a Bona-

partist party as well as a German party among the working class. The middle-class press had for so many years talked of what good Napoleon had done for France that many believed it. We took somewhat of a middle course and were confronted by both parties. There were two distinct parties till the capitulation of Sedan. After the capitulation of Sedan the Bonapartist party transferred their sympathies to the Republic, and [in] the German party, seeing that Prussia became the aggressor, a conversion took place, but what could be done? Had Parliament been sitting we might [have] petitioned or got members to ask questions. But sometimes ministers speak more freely when no Parliament sits than they do when Parliament is sitting, and therefore we did the best we could do to get the representative men together that are connected with the large working men's organisations to appoint a deputation to wait on the Prime Minister. Well, a deputation was appointed and it waited on Gladstone and compelled him to express an opinion. So far we were unanimous. But after we had that opinion what could we do then? The question of recognition is also a question of law, of which working men are ignorant and many feared that they might get entangled in a net. So much for the first point.

On the second, with all due respect for Cit. Weston's opinion, [I think that] England would have been powerless, the French navy was not prevented from acting and it was comparatively dead. That the English navy could have done a great deal I will not deny, but much has been done, our mercantile navy has done a great deal, it has been of great assistance to the French. An English army of 50,000 men might have been sent but it would have had no force because the English army is badly officered, it would have crumbled down before the Prussians. The French are individually as brave as the Prussians but lack that scientific organisation the Prussians have got. To whom could the command of an English army have been entrusted?

In former wars our officers ran away on urgent business, they would have done the same now. If we had sent an army to France it would have failed for the same reason the French have failed. The French had generals who received a great deal of money, so have we; the French had generals who had gained laurels in Algiers, we have generals who have done great deeds in India, but they were no leaders in a war like this, they crumbled down before the scientific Prussians. We could have provisioned and clothed the French army, that would have been a great assistance but it would not have ensured victory.

Upon the third point, when the matter came before the House of Commons I was in favour of it. I thought it would be an excellent thing if private property could be protected on sea and land, as there is every certainty that wars are not yet at an end. I thought it would make them [less] barbarous and would reduce the sufferings of those not immediately engaged and I thought too that private property would be protected in this war. But since Prussia has trodden the declaration in the gutter and property is not safe on land I do not see why it should be at sea. The question at all events is open for consideration.

Cit. *Milner* said: if we don't watch it we shall get out of gear with the working class. It seems as though monarchy was infinitely stronger than Republicanism. France is a tremendous difficulty. We are going for Republicanism, we are for the liberty of all, but Gambetta has been obliged to use tyranny to sustain the Republic. Our aim is to elevate the condition of the working classes under all forms of government. Therefore we must take care not to be thrust aside in the contention of parties. The vigour of the German mind has always been so intensely individual, more so than any other, that it has not troubled about foreign matters, but having now been fused into national they will not forego to reap the fruits of their conquests. If they think they can do so better under a centralised monarchy

than under a republic, they will have a monarchy and we shall have to put up with it and accommodate ourselves to it. Republicanism cannot boast of any great successes. America shows us no great success except that the concentration of Capital is greater than elsewhere, and we may ere long be told that the working classes are better off under a monarchy than under a republic.

Cit. *Eccarius* said: one important point has not yet been mentioned in this discussion, the dismemberment of France. The demand for recognition was at the outset coupled with a protest against annexation. To protest against annexation would have been ridiculous without a threat of war. The peace party qualified their sympathy by a declaration that under [no] circumstances should England go to war and they passed votes of confidence to the Government for the way it had acted; we on the contrary censured the Government. To remain silent spectators when recognition was refused would have put us on a level with the great Liberal Party. By going in for intervention and war we have at least saved our honour. I am one of those who advocated war, and [if] we have done nothing else we have broken up that doubtful friendship that existed between the working class and the Liberals; the working class has lost the confidence it had in Gladstone even in home affairs. The war-cry has greatly helped. The various meetings of the Liberals and Radicals and their constituencies show that everywhere there has been a manifestation of discontent; the only place where an unqualified vote of confidence for the Government could be obtained was at Manchester, in the stronghold of Radicalism. But though I was for war I never seriously believed that England would go to war. The Tories have as little sympathy for the Republic as the Liberals but they thought if England had interfered in time Napoleon might have been saved and that would have been easier than put someone in his place to keep revolution down. The great Liberal Party is as Prussian as the German

professors themselves; there was no fear of hurrying England into war in favour of France but it was a handle against the Government to rouse the working class for future action.

Cit. *Harris*: I hold with the opener* that we could not have been of much use in this war but cannot agree with Cit. Weston and Cohn. I did not view the war as one between two governments but as one against the people of Europe. How is it [that] the British democracy is so powerless? Because it knows nothing of history or foreign politics and therefore can do nothing. They go and cheer a republic before they know who are the people that are at the head of [it] or what kind of a republic it is. There was a kind of marriage hawking about in Spain which brought on the war. When the war broke out the French went at it with joy to overrun Germany; where was the British democracy then? Cit. Engels did not allude to 10,000 men in Ireland with a view that it would take so many to keep Ireland down but with a view to show the difficulty of sending an army into France. He supposed that the English Government would not leave Ireland unprotected. I believe the Irish to be very generous but they would not [be] worth anything if they would not take advantage if England was in a difficulty.

Cit. *Engels*. When I mentioned Ireland I only supposed that 10,000 would be the smallest force the Government would leave in Ireland. I did not take the sentiments of the Irish into account at all.

Cit. *Weston*. It might [be] inferred that there was a feeling in the Council that it was necessary to have 10,000 men in Ireland but that England and Scotland could be left without an army.

Cit. *Boon*. There is not a Republican but what believes that the Irish are only kept down by an armed force.

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* Engels.—*Ed.*

It was then suggested that the question of Ireland might be brought in as a subordinate question of the discussion by joining a proposition to that effect to the others.

It was agreed that the debate be again adjourned.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*JOHN WESTON*, Chairman

*JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*February 14*

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Kolb*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The *Chairman*** announced that he had brought Mr. Hennessy as a visitor.

Cit. *Harris* said he did not object to Mr. Hennessy being present but it was against the rules to admit visitors.

Cit. *Jung* said he had often brought non-members with him as visitors and most of them had become members.

Cit. *Engels* moved and *Lessner* seconded that Mr. Hennessy be admitted; carried unanimously.

The Minutes were then read and confirmed.

The *Secretary**** announced that the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Society had voted one pound for the prisoners' families in Germany[106]; the money would be forwarded in the course of the week.

Cit. *Marx* announced that the men condemned to various

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 171-77 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Weston.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

terms of imprisonment with hard labour for high treason at Vienna had been amnestied, and without the English condition of banishment.[107]

He further announced that the *Pall Mall Gazette* contained a report of a meeting at Paris where Serraillier, who had not been heard of since last September and who it had been feared might have fallen, [made a speech]. Serraillier had discussed the attitude the working class should assume. They should insist on a strict inquiry why the Government of National Defence had failed in defeating the Prussians; they should examine the country to ascertain whether it was still capable of resistance before they submitted to any unfavourable conditions of peace. Serraillier had given as his opinion that the war had been undertaken to suppress the International but it was stronger than Bismarck and would defeat him.

Dupont had received a letter from Roubaix from a man whom Dupont recommended to be nominated as correspondent of the Association.[108]

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by *Harris*, the nomination was agreed to.

Cit. *Marx* further announced the Prussian Chamber of Deputies had petitioned the Government to raise the state of siege on account of the elections, but the Government refused. At Frankfort a working man* had been expelled on account of being elected as a candidate for the German Parliament.[109]

Cit. *Jung* announced that a friend who did [not] wish to be known had handed him a donation of £40 for the funds of the Council.

The *Chairman* said that was very agreeable news and the Mr. Nobody ought to have a vote of thanks.

Cit. *Jung* stated it was a member of the Association and required no vote of thanks.

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* Joseph Schneider.—*Ed.*

The adjourned discussion was then resumed by Cit. *Jung*. He said Cit. Weston admitted on the previous evening that the working-class movement had not been successful and showed that an attempt had been made to agree with the middle class. I consider that wrong policy. Cit. Weston further said that if all the working men had been united they would not have been successful but I think they might have been if they had been united; it was bringing other parties into it that caused the split. It appeared to me that as the agitation went on it served more to idolise the persons at the head of the Government than to enforce the recognition of the Republic. From that moment the movement was lost. Working men who knew better, when they heard such speeches as Odger's, must either doubt his sincerity or come to the conclusion that he knew nothing.

I am confident that the Government would not have withdrawn the soldiers from Ireland and the Irish would be foolish if they did not seize every opportunity. The English democracy has never done anything for Ireland.

I have also a few observations to make upon what Cit. Milner said. He said it was our aim to better the condition of the working class under any form of government. We shall do that but it is a rather limited view of our aim. It is the view that has led some of our members to the notion that we ought not to have anything to do with politics. But we are [a] political association, our aim is greater than simply social improvement, we want to alter the existing state of things. If monarchy has proved the stronger in France, it was not because it was centralised, France is centralised too. I am not afraid of centralisation, a republic may centralise its power, too, so that we can still go in for the republic.

Cit. Cohn seemed to be mistaken about the funds of the army. Here they are voted, in Prussia they are not.

Cit. *Marx*.[110] The recognition of the Republic was the first condition for all the rest; if that did not succeed all the

rest must fail. France was internationally paralysed and at home, too, while Prussia had Russia at her back. The moment the Republic was proclaimed everybody in France became enthusiastically republican. Had the Republic been recognised then it would have had a chance to succeed. But when no recognition came they turned back. The propertied class had an interest rather to see Prussia victorious than the Republic. They are well aware that sooner or later the Republic must have become socialistic and therefore they intrigued against it, and these intrigues have done more for Prussia than Moltke and his generals. Well, no one has shown in this discussion that the recognition of the Republic was not the first point.

Next, the Cannon Street meeting[111] was not a meeting of the wealthy citizens of London, it was the small middle class who never had any influence. They may either support the great capitalists against the people or join the working class; they cannot do anything by themselves, but when they join the working class they must not be permitted to lead, because they are dangerous leaders. They hate the Republic and would not recognise it, but they were afraid of Prussia, therefore they were for war.

Cit. Eccarius talked about protesting against the dismemberment of France; without threatening war [it] would have been useless; that had nothing to do with it. We protested in our address and the Germans protested but that was only a moral protest; the British Government could not protest until Prussia had been victorious and formally demanded those provinces, and it was impossible to believe that this Government would seriously oppose the dismemberment.

Then Cit. Cohn seems to entertain strange notions about a working men's agitation. When the workmen go to Gladstone to hear his opinion they must take that as an ultimate decision and give up. He also thinks that more could have been done if Parliament had been sitting. That was the

best thing that Parliament was not sitting. The recognition of the Republic was a simple executive act. Had Parliament been sitting Gladstone would have shoved off his own shoulders onto those of the majority and there would have been a thousand reasons to support him to one against it. A change of government might have necessitated an election and the Liberals don't care about buying the free electors too often. I am quite sure, if the working men had persevered and not allowed doctrinary middle-class speakers to meddle, they might have succeeded. There was not half the energy thrown into this movement that there was some time since in a beer row.[112] All things in England are carried by pressure from without.

Cit. Milner spoke as if the Germans would be offended if the English insisted on the recognition of the French Republic. Quite the contrary: they believe the English have not gone far enough. Hundreds have been imprisoned and the only people they could look to for moral support were the English work-people but they did not get in the way they ought to have done. As to monarchy against republic, there was one monarchical army against another in the beginning; there was nothing about republic, and the French army was supposed to be the stronger. When all the French standing army disappeared everybody thought the French would have to give in, in a few days no monarchy could have assisted [against] the Prussians. It was the absence of a monarch alone, the Republic, that has done it for five months, and if there [had] been no treason and no intriguing they would have kept up longer.

The third point that has come out is that middle-class republics have become impossible in Europe. A middle-class government dare not interfere so far as to take the proper revolutionary measures for defence. It is only a political form to develop the power of the working class. The last elections in France and the proceedings of the middle class in Germany prove that they rather have a military des-

potism than a republic. In England there is the same fear. Republicanism and middle-class government can no longer go together.

I now come to the war itself. After the capitulation of Sedan Bismarck was in a difficulty. The king* had told the German Parliament and the French people that he only made war against Napoleon in self-defence. But after Sedan it was no [longer] more for defence than the French had been. I know that Bismarck worked as hard to bring about the war as Napoleon, the defence was only a pretext. But after Sedan he wanted a new pretext. The German middle class was doubtful whether it was not time to stop but Bismarck found that there was no recognised government to make peace with, therefore he must go to Paris to make peace. It was the height of impudence for him [to] say what government the French would recognise and what they would not but it answered his purpose. Money-makers are always worshippers of success, and the German middle class being afraid of the Republic, [he] secured their support, that of the aristocracy he was sure of beforehand. It was Bismarck's interest that England should not recognise the Republic because England was the only power that could oppose him, but he reckoned on Gladstone and the Court relations. To be mother-in-law of the Emperor of Germany** was no small thing, so England followed in the footsteps of the Holy Alliance.

When Gladstone was taxed by the working men's deputation about the haste with which Napoleon had been recognised, he baffled them by mixing up dates and confounding the recognition after the coup d'état by Palmerston with that of Derby after the plebiscite. He told the working men he had gone as far as he could, and he made a merit of not having broken off diplomatic relations. He

* Wilhelm I. *Ed.*

** This refers to Queen Victoria. *Ed.*

could have gone as far as America. His colleagues, Bruce, Lowe and Cardwell, made hostile demonstrations against the Republic[113] by stating that England could only employ moral force without. The only place where England can employ physical force is Ireland. Then the German press was ordered to insult England about selling stores to the French. When Bernstorff called Granville to account he equivocated and said he would inquire and then found it was all right and legal.[114] He knew that before, only he had not the pluck to say so. Then the British Government, at the instance of Bernstorff, confiscated the French cable, which an English judge afterwards pronounced to be illegal.[115] After the capitulation of Metz Russia thought it was time to show her partnership which was shown in the renunciation of the Treaty of Paris. Immediately after [this] came the repudiation of the Treaty of Luxembourg and the settlement of Rumania in the principalities,* which were all insults to England. And what did Gladstone do? He sent a plenipotentiary extraordinary to Bismarck to ask his advice. Bismarck advised a conference in London and even Gladstone felt that it would be no use without France because without France the treaty breakers would be in the majority. But France could not be admitted without recognising the Republic, and therefore Bismarck had to prevent it. When Auberon Herbert asked Gladstone in the House[116] he again shuffled out and falsified the facts and ignored the most important part. Pious people always do a deal of sinning. From the Blue Book it appears [that] when the English Government asked for a pass for Favre, Bismarck answered that France was internationally incapable of acting, before that was removed it would be useless

* The entry is not exact. The *Eastern Post* report of this meeting, February 19, 1871, gives this passage as follows: "In quick succession followed the renunciation of the Treaty of Luxembourg and the stipulations about the principalities by Bismarck and the Prince of Rumania." *Ed.*

to take any steps to admit her to Conference. Non-recognition was the means of isolating the English Government.

It being close upon 11 o'clock, Cit. *Marx* moved that the debate be adjourned, which was seconded and carried.

Cit. *Boon* then moved and Cit. *Engels* seconded that the Treasurer, Cit. Weston, deposit thirty-five pounds in the Birkbeck Bank for the Association and keep five pounds in hand for current expenditure.

The proposition was unanimously carried.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*JOHN WESTON*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*February 21*[117]

Members present: *Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, [Marx], Milner, Stepney, Weston, Pfänder.*

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous [meeting] were read.

Cit. *Marx* said that the Minutes contained so many blunders that they could not be corrected without making the speech over again.

Cit. *Harris* moved that with the insertion of this statement they be adopted, which was carried.

The *Secretary*** announced that £8 6s. had been received by him for the families of the German political prisoners.

The *Treasurer**** announced that he had deposited £35 in the Birkbeck Bank, according to order, that 4 per cent interest would be received on every full pound that remained in the bank from the beginning till the end of the month

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 177-80 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** Weston.—*Ed.*

and that money could be drawn out as required without any previous notice by simply sending an order signed by him and accompanied by the book.

Cit. *Marx* then called the attention of the Council to the report of his speech in the *Eastern Post* and the slovenly way in which it was put together. If his name had not been misprinted he should have considered it his duty to write to the editor. The report stated "the moment the Republic was proclaimed everybody in France was enthusiastically republican, but no recognition came and a reaction set in". There was no sense whatever in it. He had on the contrary stated that the Republic had been recognised by Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium and other countries and that the enthusiasm of the people had been so great that the opponents had been obliged to pretend to be in favour of it; and he had particularly mentioned that the judge of the High Court of Blois had played the Republican. The report went on: "the bourgeoisie had no interest in making the Republic succeed, they are well aware that sooner or later the social question must be dealt with." This was altogether different from what he had said, which was that the Republic must become socialistic. Then the report went on: "none of the advocates of* war have shown that the recognition of the Republic was the first condition to all the rest", which ought [to be] "*not* the first condition".

About his remarks upon what other speakers had said the reporter had not taken the trouble to say who spoke, so that it was difficult to distinguish who had spoken. The remark attributed to him about Cit. Cohn was tantamount to an insult. Further the report said that it was "the absence of a monarch that inspired the people"; he had distinctly stated "the absence of monarchy", which was quite a dif-

* Further the words "the intervention" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

ferent affair. The devil should understand such reports. Then that England use "more force" without, which might be a misprint of "moral force".

Again it was reported that Bismarck had said, "the French had not recognised that Government and it was the height of impudence for him to say what Government should be recognised by the French". No mention was made that he [Marx] had said that everybody in France had recognised and obeyed the Government and that it was the height of impudence for Bismarck to say they had not.

Then it is reported that the admission of France to the Conference would be tantamount to recognition. This was a penny-a-liner's remark, not his; the conclusion was altogether falsified. It was because the Government was not recognised that it was internationally incapable. The report differs also from the Minutes. Such reports could only do injury, and if any more of that sort were published he should move that no more be printed.

Cit. *Milner* thought it would be better in future to have the Minutes read and confirmed before any report was sent.

Cit. *Jung* thought there was something in it, but they would get a week old. There were many things which must be published immediately. And then the reports and the Minutes are different; the Minutes cannot be published in full.

Cit. *Marx*: the reports ought to be done different, they ought to be more critical.

After a few remarks from the *Chairman*,* Cit. *Engels* and *Milner* the matter [was] dropped.

Cit. *Marx* said: with regard to the discussion he had thought of speaking on the third point but as nothing had been said against it it was not necessary. If others spoke on it he might have something to say and then Cit. Engels would have to sum up. The Irish question of which mention had been made had better to be discussed separately.

* Weston. *Ed.*

Cit. *Weston* said he would avail himself of the opportunity to say a few words. Cit. Jung seemed to be under an impression that efforts had been made to get a portion of the middle class to co-operate with the working class to urge the recognition of the Republic; such was not the case. Only six had agreed to test the feeling of the Cannon Street meeting by proposing a resolution. They had not had a fair opportunity but the votes had been 3 to 2 in their favour. Respecting the Comtists: when it had been found that they expressed the working men's views they had co-operated with them. The split among the working classes had existed prior to the proclamation of the Republic and had been brought about by the Workmen's Peace Society* declaring that England should on no account take part in the war, but that only moral force should be used. Bismarck could have come to no other conclusion from that than that the English work-people would not allow the Government to interfere, and to counteract it, [it] had been necessary to advocate intervention. He was still of opinion that unanimity would not have ensured the success of the movement for recognition.

Cit. *Jung* said the misfortune was that we had to go by reports that were incorrect; he had understood that efforts had been made to co-operate with the middle class.

Cit. *Milner* said he too had been misunderstood. Years ago he and those with whom he had acted had endeavoured to impress upon the trade unionists the necessity of combining the social with the political movement as no social advance could be made without political power. He agreed that the republican was the best form of government for the development of the working class, but if the republic came upon them without being previously prepared to know what to do, it would be [of] no use. In that sense the working class must be elevated under any form of government, then they would make good use of the republic when it came.

* This refers to the Workmen's Peace Committee.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Engels* thought it rather important that Marx should speak before he summed up but as Cit. Marx was indisposed it would be better to adjourn till next Tuesday, which was agreed to.

Cit. *Weston* announced that the Land Tenure Reform Association[118] was meeting the working men's party halfways towards the nationalisation of the land. The Land and Labour League[119] had driven them forward.

Cit. *Harris* thought it was a move to break up the Land and Labour League.

Cit. *Jung* stated that Lucraft had desired him to go to the Peace meeting at the Freemasons' tavern[120] to solicit money for the families of the German political prisoners but he [did] not like to go unless the Council desired him to do so.

Cit. *Marx* did not believe the Germans would thank the Council for sending any one, because it would be recognising them and they might make something of it.

The *Financial Secretary** read the financial statement and the Council agreed that the Treasurer should hold the bank-book.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Chairman *CHARLES PFÄNDER*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

*February 28*

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Pfänder* in the chair.

* Harris. -*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 180-81 and 187-88 of the Minute Book, and in Serraillier's on pp. 182-86.—*Ed.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and with an addition confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* stated his corrections of the report in the last meeting had not been to go to the papers and the corrections that had been made in the paper were again misleading as it looked as if he, not Gladstone, had said that England could only use moral force. Moral force was no force.

Before the business of the evening was proceeded with, Cit. Marx desired to call attention to some remarks made by Cit. Weston the previous week about the programme of the Land Tenure Reform Association. It had been too late in the evening and being made from the chair, there was no chance of raising a discussion. He thought it would be better in future, when any such programme was brought before the Council, to bring it as a motion so that the members might express an opinion upon it.

Cit. *Weston* thought that things that came so near our own platform ought to be taken notice of. We were for the abolition of private property in land; the Land Tenure Reform Association proposed the nationalisation of the waste lands, home colonisation, and to intercept the rent accruing from increase of population, which would make the landlords simple annuitants. We ought to recognise and encourage such schemes; these men might ultimately come over to us, a little patting on the back might do a great deal. He thought it desirable that an evening should be devoted to considering the matter.

Cit. *Marx* said the communication was quite right; he was only against Cit. Weston defending the programme from the chair as he had done. These moves always turned up at a certain stage of a movement and instead of being encouraged they ought to be opposed, such men only stepped in to break up the movement.

Cit. *Engels* said what had been said showed that it was time for the Council to discuss the question brought before it as a matter of fact. An association outside the Interna-

tional was taking steps which interfered with our platform; he therefore proposed that after the pending discussion was over the programme of the Land Tenure Reform Association should be discussed.

Cit. *Harris* seconded the proposition, and denied that it was right to pat middle-class men on the back.

The proposition was carried unanimously and Cit. *Weston* declared his readiness to open the discussion as soon as the pending discussion was over.

Cit. *Engels* communicated that the Paris correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette** had reported that the deputies elected for Paris by the International were all for war and that the International supplied them with money. The International had 200,000 fr., but it was not extravagant: the deputies at Bordeaux [had] only received 2,000 fr. each. Tolain and Murat were at the head. Reuter's telegrams stated that the International had sent delegates to Bordeaux. Mr. Reuter did not know that we had two sections there.

Cit. *Marx* communicated that the Prussian Government had given up the high treason prosecution in all the other points except that the prisoners were [in] sections of the International and received their orders from London, which constituted treason.[121]

It was then agreed that the discussion should [be] postponed for Cit. Serraillier to report[122] what he had seen in Paris.**

Cit. *Serraillier* said: on my arrival in Paris a delegate led me to the *mairie*. I asked where I could find the Association and I was told there were no sections, no Federal Council, all the members had been in prison, and were then distributed amongst the various regiments—some were in the regular army, some in the National Guard,

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* *Kölnische Zeitung.—Ed.*

** Further the entry is in Serraillier's hand.— *Ed.*

some in the *garde mobile*, the Association was broken up. Then I met Longuet and I asked him if I could get a translation of our second address inserted in some paper. Félix Pyat and the *Rappel* would not insert it because it was too Prussian; the *Réveil*[123] refused, I suppose because it did not speak of Ledru-Rollin. I then gave it to Desmoulins, who translates for an Orleanist paper; it was published but they scratched out the remarks about the Government. I then went to public meetings where I found Combault, who was always a good man, but when I spoke of the International he replied: "If you speak of the Germans as our equals I shall shoot you down, we can only talk of the Germans as the enemies on our soil." I went to others with no better result.

On the 8th of October a demonstration was to be made against the Government; all our members were present but only as individuals, not as association; there was no concerted action, they did nothing.[124] Then I tried to get a meeting of the Federal Council to take some steps for the next demonstration which was to come off on the 31st of October[125] but they said they could not connect politics with the International, so the day was lost again. Blanqui was the only man who stuck to his post to the last, all the other great gods slipped off. The Internationals declined to support Blanqui; had they done so things would stand different with France today. Varlin, like the rest, declared that the International could not act politically as an association; in this way, at every new attempt we must lose the day again.

I then went to the sections to get them into working order and to get them to elect a new council[126] because the names of the familiars, Tolain, Chalain, Theisz, Combault, Murat, and all the others, were an obstacle to doing anything. I made a call on all the sections, 11 answered and a new Federal Council was organised, in opposition to the others, to hold meetings and to be ready in every

circumscription of Paris for any emergency that might arise. For doing this they called me a fool. A week after we drew up a manifesto against another that had been published. Malon is the only exception: he was willing to work but nobody would help him. After our manifesto was published they called the sections together to oppose us.

In January there was a chance to overthrow the Government, and all the leading men were ready to take their share in the work but they would not bring out the sections for an organised attack except Malon who brought out his two sections. We had everything in our hands but the members of the Government were allowed to get away and then we were literally kicked out.[127]

Then came the elections. We were called upon to agree to a list of candidates. The republicans of 1848 proposed a number of candidates to be elected but they were not to go to Bordeaux. I proposed that we would nominate thirteen and they should nominate all the others but they must be revolutionists.

Combault, Chalain, and Johannard were not put down by us. The delegates met to draw up a list. I went to the meeting and when the list was discussed the Internationals would not be on a list that bore Blanqui's name, yet he is the only man that has been honest and consistent throughout. I left, the others stopped and then they put down a list, in the name of the whole International, of candidates that [had] only been proposed by the sections. I protested against them doing so and pointed out that each was only the candidate of his own section. They then abandoned the list and agreed to one with the bourgeoisie. The next day a list came out agreed to by the Republican Union, the Republican Alliance, the Defenders of France, and some Internationals. Malon, Pindy, Varlin, and Charles Beslay were on that list. We declared that we could not make a list with the bourgeoisie. Frankel drew up a protest against, which was agreed to by Malon; the day after its

publication Malon sent a protest against the protest and alleged that his name had been put down against his consent. Frankel went again to Malon and remonstrated that he had allowed his name to go down, and now that he was on both lists he must make his choice to which he would adhere. Malon was reported to have said that he preferred being on the bourgeois list, which I believe is correct. Frankel was to go with Malon to Bordeaux but that has not come off.[128]

When I left, the new and the old Federal Council united and I made it a condition that the old ones must be re-elected to take their seats; I know they will not be re-elected.

We were in a strange situation. We worked against the Government betraying us, we spoke in the name of the International and told the work-people only to hate the governments which were against the people in France as well as in Germany but the bourgeois did different: they said the Germans fight against the Republic. When I told them that Jules Favre had made the obnoxious laws which ruined the Republic of 1848, I was answered that in London demonstrations were made for Favre by members of the Council.[129] I could only tell them that Merriman was a lawyer and was for the Government because they were lawyers and that Odger was only a private individual, but then they pointed out that his name was on our address. The Prussians let all the papers with the accounts of these demonstrations go into Paris. Everything that told against the International was allowed to go in. The Council must make a declaration to let the Parisians know that it had nothing to do with these demonstrations for Jules Favre; if not they will lose their confidence in us.

The 200,000 fr. were reported by the *Figaro* to have been given by Bonapartist agents to the International. Our members were going to protest and say they had no money but I thought it [to] be foolish to proclaim that we had

no money and therefore we remained silent. When it came to the poll the bourgeoisie said it would be no use electing working men, there would be no payment for the members and without money they could not go to Bordeaux: it would therefore have been impolitic to let everybody know that we had none.[130]

Murat and Tolain, when they wrote to Dupont, never wrote in the name of the Association, only as individuals. All that Tolain has done for the last three years was to go to the Congress once a year and make a speech. He has made alliances with the bourgeoisie. He is said to represent the International but he does nothing for it. He has undeceived the bourgeoisie of the danger of the socialist; they can make anything they like of him. Malon, they say, is dreaming. Murat gave orders to arrest the two commandants, Piazza and Brunel, who were going to prevent the capitulation of Paris.[131] He is quite with the middle class and has signed all the orders that were made in favour of the middle class. When things were at the worst people with families could not get much for 1½ fr. a day: everything was very dear and then they would not let you have two pennyworth of sugar without buying chocolate or tea or something else and they would not let you have bread or cheese without buying sugar. Those who had money could get what they wanted and the poor had to starve. Murat signed the orders by which this was brought about; he ought to have resigned like Delescluze and others did[132] but he refused. When they were first appointed, they had no political functions, they were only to look after the distribution of food. But they were taken into the secret of the capitulation. He ought to have made known to the Association how matters really stood.

Those men must be accused before the next Congress and I will be there to substantiate the charge.

Guillaume has arrived in Paris; he is going to give his intellect for the benefit of the Parisians. I have done something, he is going to do more. He is*

Cit. *Harris* said: I am pleased to hear confirmed what I had from Paris. We are not connected with those who monopolised the correspondence from Paris and made demonstrations for Favre. My informant tells me that the men of Belleville were sent in front with old bad guns because they had no property; the propertied class was behind them with good guns. People with money could have anything they liked, the poor could get nothing. Merriman, Odger, and Trant were elected by a handful of people (from the Hole in the Wall,[133] I suppose); it was a sell in England.

Cit. *Hales*: I support the proposition though I know that no acknowledgement is sufficient for such services. I am not surprised at treachery—it is the history of the democratic movement; we ought not to allow men playing with our principles; if they use us to rise, it is our own fault. Whenever they go astray they ought to be denounced. Serraillier has done in Paris what we ought to do here.

Cit. *Weston*: everybody says something and I am sure that Serraillier has done an invaluable service. But other things have been spoken of that have nothing [to do] with us. (None of the people of the Hole in the Wall had any hand in it.) The first meeting in Hyde Park[134] was called by three men to sympathise with the Republic, but no mention was made of the International. If they have made more mentions of names than they ought to have done, it was not with any ill will. Odger and Le Lubez were honest in all they did and Odger paid his own travelling expenses. We applauded the Republican principle, not men. I heartily support the proposition.

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* A gap in the Minutes. Further they are again in Eccarius's hand.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* said: what Serraillier has told us is only the echo of what has been said in Paris. Nobody has spoken of Le Lubez; if Cit. Weston recollects what happened here between the *Branche française* and the Council, and the accusations of Le Lubez against Jung and others[135] he will see that the French do not reckon him one of us, they know that he has ceased to be a member. But Odger is known as a member of the Council, and when they saw in Paris that he was eulogising Favre they could not know that the Council had nothing to do with it. I am not aware that anybody has made a charge that anyone is sold, but if Cit. Odger goes about to speak on international politics without knowing anything about them, he ought to come here to inform himself; Odger talks nonsense.

Cit. *Boon*: it looks rather suspicious that a workman should undertake such a journey on his own hook, someone must pay the expense and they go without the consent of an association they belong to, elected by no one knows who, it may be a street mob; we have a right to speak.

Cit. *Weston*: I am surprised at Cit. Boon calling an open air meeting a street mob. Odger was elected in Hyde Park, it was no street mob, no Hole-in-the-Wall election.

Cit. *Harris*: Mr. Odger's name was mentioned in Paris as a member of the Council and I do contend that he and Trant form part of the politics of the Hole in the Wall.

Cit. *Boon:* as a member of this Council Odger ought not to have gone on such a mission without consulting us.

The proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at half past 11 o'clock.

*A. SERRAILLIER*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*March 7*

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Serraillier*, *Townshend*, *Stepney*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Serraillier* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and with an alteration confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* announced a receipt of a letter from Bordeaux. Malon was acting in the interest of the Association but Tolain was rubbing his elbows against the bourgeoisie and was of opinion that the International might** adopt a milder title as the present name might do harm.

Cit. Marx then read a letter from the German Secretary of New York*** in which the application of the New York Committee to be recognised as the North-American Central Committee was repeated.[136] In reply to letters from here the writer stated that they had no desire to clash with the American Labour Union which was in the hands of small politicians who wanted to emancipate themselves by associations in which only the best paid workmen could take part, and they were trusting to small farmers' politics to carry out their programme. The next Congress would be at Louisiana,[137] which would strengthen that tendency; and no better tone would be produced till the industrial working class of the East had more influence, which they would not get till another Congress was held in the East. Jessup was of their way of thinking but rather reserved. They had had an interview with the Fenian convicts arrived from England and considered them very intelligent men. One

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 188-91 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further the words "change its name" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

*** Sorge.—*Ed.*

of them had declared that if he should like to belong to any party it would be the International or a party like it.

He wanted to know whether he was to correspond with the General Secretary or not, and complained that he had received no documents. The money collected for the German prisoners had been forwarded to Germany. They had now admission to the Union meetings. The St. Crispin's had gained their strike; the colliers had hopes of success. The German working men's meeting made no progress.[138]

Enclosed was a report from Ward of his visit to Washington to have an interview with the delegates of the Labour Union to convince them that a wider platform was required to bring about the social revolution. He had discussed the matter with 11 delegates for several days and been favourably received.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he sent off large bundles of documents,[139] and the *Secretary** mentioned that he also had sent copies of everything that had been published.

Cit. *Marx* said the question to decide was whether they were to be made a United States Central Committee or only the Central Committee of the foreign sections.

Cit. *Engels* was for recognising them only as the representatives of their constituencies leaving everybody at liberty to join them.

Cit. *Milner* considered it necessary to encourage propagandists and give them a position to carry on the propaganda.

Cit. *Weston* wanted some name that would properly define their position.

Cit. *Marx* said: if we only represented the German Club, the Swiss Club and perhaps a French Club here, we could not call ourselves a Central Committee for the English, the Irish and the Scotch.

Cit. *Jung* said in reply to Cit. Milner that no one intended

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

to deny what they had done or prevent them doing more but they could not be an American Central Committee till they had made some American branches.

Cit. *Harris* stated that there were two parties in Massachusetts who had only lately heard of us and who intended to join. Respecting the parcels, they might lie at the post-office in New York. He had sent things himself which had remained at the post-office till inquiries had been made for them and then they had been delivered. He supported the view that the New York Committee should only speak in the name of those they represented.

Cit. *Marx* said that nothing must [be] done to curb their action; they had done a good deal; the best thing was to write to them and to represent to them what they could [do] according to the Rules.

It was agreed that Cit. Marx be instructed to write a letter to them in that sense.

Cit. *Engels* announced that the Red Paper at Palma* was dead. Three numbers had appeared but the post had not distributed it. The editor had been prosecuted for insulting the king in the first number but his name was not mentioned, and he could not find the article to which the prosecution referred.

Cit. *Jung* communicated a letter according to which two sections had been formed in Paris near the railway stations of Ivry and Bercy. The sections were represented by delegates at the Federal Council.

*Serraillier* announced that the National Guard had resolved to oppose the entry of the Prussians and tried to involve the International, but it had been found that some government agents were at the bottom of it, which had been explained to the National Guard and then they refused to go on.[140] The Internationals were busily organising.

Cit. *Robin* gave notice that at the next meeting he should

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* *La Revolucion social.—Ed.*

move that an administrative conference of delegates from all the sections be convoked to London as soon as possible.

Cit. *Jung* stated that that would bring up the question for which he had claimed urgency at the last meeting.

Cit. *Marx* then recurred to the question of the Declaration of Paris.* He said if the English working people did not speak out, that Declaration might be made an article of a treaty and the people of England must not be disarmed in their foreign policy, and there was no time to be lost: an English committee ought to be formed at once. For a maritime power the only way to make war was to make war against the foreign commerce of the enemy. America had not consented to that Declaration but the French had observed it and that was the reason the French fleet had done so little. Holland was now put forward to ask that that what was formerly only a declaration be made a part of the treaty. On the sea only goods could be destroyed but in a war in the interior an amount of fixed capital, such [as] bridges, buildings, etc., were destroyed which it took years to replace. Letters of mark were another affair; they were the *francs tireurs* of the sea. The ruling class of this country had lost the power of national defence without, and at the moment when France was powerless England represented the West of Europe, and the working class of England must regain the power.

Cit. *Hales* stated that there was to be a meeting at St. James's Hall where he believed the subject would be introduced against increasing taxation.

Cit. *Marx* observed it would cost more in the long run; the Peace Party acted always in favour of the greatest military power.

Cit. *Weston* thought if anyone competent to move an amendment went there and moved one, a meeting might be had without the expense.

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* See pp. 112-13 and 115-16 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Hales* was certain the Government encouraged the meeting.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*March 14*[141]

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney*.

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a letter from the Trades Council of Birmingham containing a resolution in which a desire is expressed that the General Council should endeavour to reconcile the French and the German members of the Association.[142]

Cit. *Marx* read a letter from New York[143] in which the formation and affiliation of an Irish section of the Association was announced. A deputation consisting of James O'Sullivan, John Dawling, Samuel Kavanagh and Thomas Lalor had waited on the New York Committee and John Devoy was the delegate of the Irish section at the New York Committee.

Cit. Marx further announced that our people had been beaten in the German elections,[144] all but Bebel who had defeated Schulze-Delitzsch. The latter had defeated Manteuffel at Berlin and Moltke had been elected by an East Prussian village.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 192-97 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Robin* then moved the proposition of which he had given notice*: That a conference of delegates from all the sections be convoked as soon as possible to London. He believed it necessary that the Socialists of every country, and particularly those of Germany and France, should meet to come to some agreement as to their future action against their governments. It was also necessary to turn some out of the Association who acted in its name without any longer representing it. According to the Rules the Congress ought to meet every year and a conference ought to meet now; there were also administrative questions to settle.

Cit. *Milner* seconded the proposition to have it discussed.

Cit. *Marx* spoke against the proposition and said that Cit. Robin had not sufficiently developed his reasons. Paris was in a very unsettled state. Schily, a member of the Association who had lived 20 years in Paris, had been mobbed, and it had been reported in the papers that the Paris Committee had resolved that as they had the name of International they would keep it but that all the Germans except Liebknecht, Jacoby and himself were to be excluded.[145] The Council must know whether such was the case.

Cit. *Engels* said that the time might come when a conference would have to be called but it had not come yet. Cit. Robin had not shown what the administrative questions were that required a conference. In France our sections were disorganised.

Cit. *Hales* was of opinion that the time would be when any question arose with which the Council was incapable to deal.

Cit. *Boon* endorsed the opinion that the time had not yet arrived.

Cit. *Serraillier* said the Paris sections would not be able

* See pp. 148-49 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

to send delegates, they were hardly organised and in debt from the election.

Cit. *Robin* contended that it did not rest with the Council to judge its own acts and that now was the time for a conference. They had organised very quickly in Paris before the war and they would do so now if called upon to send delegates.

Cit. *Milner* said that it behoved the Council to be up to obliterate the strong national feelings now existing.

Cit. *Eccarius* said the only place where these feelings existed was Paris and a conference would have no effect. A delegate who had sufficient influence with the Parisians to get a hearing, might do something to remove them.

Cit. *Serraillier* said: we wanted [to] get rid of the old members and make new sections to go to a conference or congress.

Cit. *Marx* said: if branches had asked for a conference it would be the duty of the Council to convene one but such was not the case; it was true that according to the Rules there ought to be a congress every year but this would give two in one year. Milner had not proposed anything that was to be done. In Germany many members were in prison and they had no means to send delegates. Cit. Robin had changed his first intention to have an administrative conference only.

Cit. *Robin* said in reply that the Association had a right to control the acts of the Council and the Council ought not to shirk an investigation. There was a difference of opinion in different places; the members acted differently in every country and therefore a conference ought to meet to settle the mode of action.

The proposition was rejected against two.

Cit. *Marx* stated that it had been published in a Paris journal that the Federal Committee had passed a resolution to* the effect that as they had the name of Interna-

* Here the word "exclude" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

tional they would keep it but that all Germans excepting Marx, Liebknecht, and Jacoby should be excluded. He observed that Jacoby was not a member of the Association. He proposed that Serraillier should be instructed at once [to] write to Rochat for the printed Minutes. Agreed.

Cit. *Serraillier* stated that he had written already and was waiting for their arrival and proposed that if it should be found correct that such a resolution had been passed, that the Paris section should be suspended and that the Sub-Committee be empowered to act in that sense on the receipts of the Minutes and appoint new men in Paris to establish sections.

Cit. *Hales* seconded the proposition which was unanimously carried.

Cit. *Serraillier* communicated that he had made inquiries in Paris about Le Maître mission[146] but no one had commissioned him to come to the Council. He did all he could to intrigue against the Council. Dore had only given him a private letter to Dupont. Félix Pyat was slandering the Council.

Cit. *Marx* then resumed the adjourned debate. He said it was of the greatest possible consequence to find an antagonist for the military powers of the Continent.* They were again in the position of the Holy Alliance, and England was the only power that could oppose them and she could only do it by regaining her maritime rights. Confiscating their goods in neutral ships would ruin their foreign commerce in a few weeks and then the German middle class would not be quite so warlike, as it had lately been. This kind of warfare was more humane than war in its general aspects. By the Paris Declaration the military powers said virtually to England: you must make war in our way, not in yours. There had [been] much said against privateers

* Here the words "They had now revived the Northern Alliance" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

but they were as good as *francs tireurs* and required less government power. When Butler had advocated war with England people had said America could not go to war without a navy, to which Butler had replied: we want no navy, we only require privateers. It was a matter of indifference with the present rulers of England whether they had that power or not but they would not always rule and [it] was necessary for a power of the English people to be employed for the benefit of the people of the Continent. Stuart Mill had been for the Declaration of Paris but some papers had been sent to him and he had now turned against it. The whole Black Sea Conference[147] had turned upon getting this Declaration sanctioned. Before, it had only been privately agreed to by Palmerston and Clarendon but the protocol signed on the previous day as to stipulations seemed to include it.

Cit. *Engels* said it was hardly worthwhile to go on as Cit. Weston to whose remarks he wanted to reply was not present. As to the Paris Declaration, Cit. Marx had already pointed out that it had only been a private agreement. It had never been acknowledged by any statesman or Parliament, nobody had said that it was binding. In 1862 Cornewall Lewis had declared that it was not binding. In 1867 the present Lord Derby* had declared in answer to Stuart Mill that it was only binding in a way but that self-defence overawed all compacts. It had never been ratified and only rested on the authority of a private letter of a minister; no one was bound by it. This was clear from the fact that at every war the belligerent powers themselves had, by special agreements, bound themselves. But the Conference had signed a protocol that henceforth treaties and stipulations should be binding until they were relinquished by common consent.

The war between France and Germany had proved that the present fortresses were unsufficiently protected against

* Stanley, Edward Henry.—*Ed.*

bombardment and that by detached forts the fortresses themselves could be saved, and there were to be some forts erected in Poland. The Russian armaments were continued with unabated zeal and were on the last step from a peace to a war footing. The telegraph and sanitary companies were being organised. There was a Russian loan in the English market for £12,000,000, which was already oversubscribed and was probably the last English money Russia would get. We might have war before the summer was over—it did not look very peaceful.

Referring to what had been said during the discussion, he said the only point that had been disputed was that an English army would not have been sufficient for intervention. The strong language of which Cit. Weston had spoken had not been used by him. He then showed again that England could only bring out a force of 30,000; only at the battle of the Alma the English had numbered 33,000 and that figure they had never reached again during the Crimean war. This was only equal to Prussian army corps, and [to] suppose that such a force could have turned the scales was absurd. The English were as brave as any and there was individual bravery in every country but the men had different qualifications and the mode they exercised them was different. Some were best for attack, others best for defence. The Irish were the best men for light infantry, the English for* but the military authorities here treated the English like the Irish and the Irish like the English. The English system of training was so incomplete and antiquated that never until the present war had men been trained in outpost duty at Aldershot.

It had been said that 100,000 Englishmen would not have put up with being locked up in Paris. What could soldiers like our volunteers have done to prevent it? The French

* A gap in the MS. The newspaper report further has "heavy infantry".—*Ed.*

had had enough of such soldiers, and if 400,000 Englishmen of the same class had been locked up as the French were in Paris and led by the same jackasses and traitors they would have done the same as the French had done.

In conclusion he said England could not wage war on equal terms with the Continental powers, nor was it desirable that she should. An English soldier costs £100 a year, a Prussian only £30, therefore Prussia could keep three soldiers where England could only keep one; hence she could never compete with the military powers and he hoped she never would try to do it.

The first and the second point of the proposition with which the discussion commenced were withdrawn and the third:—"That England remains incapable, not only of interfering with effect in Continental affairs, but also of defending herself against the Continental military despotism, so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real war power, that is to say, her naval power, which she can recover only by the renunciation of the Declaration of Paris"—was carried unanimously.

Cit. *Hales* then asked whether the Irish question was to be discussed as a theoretical question or as an administrative question, if the former it might be postponed.

Cit. *Boon* moved that the Irish question should be the next for discussion but he should not undertake to open the debate.

Cit. *Marx* said it was a directly practical question, particularly in case of war, and now that we had an Irish section it was necessary to consider it.

Cit. *Hales* did not believe in separation.

Cit. *Boon* could not agree with Weston to call it mean to suppose that the Irish would take advantage of any difficulty in which the English Government might be. But the Council ought to come to an understanding what to do and decide.

Cit. *Marx* said it was a home class question. As long [as] the split between the English and Irish work-people lasted the ruling classes would have the power to keep down both.

It was then agreed that the Irish question should stand first on the order of the day for discussion and the programme of the Land Tenure Society second.

Cit. *Hales* gave notice to discuss the advisability of establishing an English section.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.*

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

*March 21****

Members present: *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Kolb*, *Milner*, *Marx*, *Robin*, *Pfänder*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* stated what had been forgotten at the previous night's discussion was that when the war had broken out letters had been sent to all the Continental sections that the Congress could not be held at Mayence or Paris and all the sections that had answered had left it to the Council to choose time and place when and where the next Congress should meet.[148]

Cit. *Robin* said that the letter had never been received at Paris.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 197-201 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The date in the Minute Book was originally given as March 14 and was corrected to March 21 by Marx.—*Ed.*

## CORRESPONDENCE

Paris. Cit. *Serraillier* had received a reply from Paris. The statement about expelling the Germans from the Association was an invention of the papers. It had never been either in the Federal Council or in the sections.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the following be sent to the papers[149]:

A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Working Men's Association had so far joined the so-called Anti-German League as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded from our Association.

This statement is the reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our Association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that Council have ever passed any such resolution. The so-called Anti-German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes; it was started by the Jockey Club,[150] and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working classes had nothing whatever to do with it.

The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war, the International was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and the Russian press accuse it of having created the late outrages upon Germans at Zurich,[151] French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon, Courrier de la Gironde*, *La Liberté*, etc., tell of certain secret meetings of Internationals having taken place at Geneva and Berne, the Prussian Ambassador in the chair, in which meetings a plan was concocted to hand over Lyons to the United Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder.

The proposal was seconded and carried unanimously.

Cit. *Serraillier* announced that a few days since the *Paris-*

*Journal* had stated in an article that the *grand chef* of the International, residing in Berlin, had written a letter to Serraillier in Paris complaining about the Internationals of Paris troubling themselves too much about politics instead of sticking to the organisation of work which was the real aim of the Association. A day or two after a letter had been published which had been said to have been written by Marx, and dated from London, to Serraillier in Paris. The letter had been dated February 24 and he, Serraillier, had arrived in London on the 19th, and had seen Marx on the same day. His reply to Marx had also been given to the effect that his time had not come yet.[152]

He had also received letters which showed that the Montmartre affair was not the sudden outburst of a mob of 20,000, as the papers stated. There were 215 battalions of National Guards of 1,500 men each from whom the Central Committee had emanated and the regular soldiers had fraternised with them. They had well organised local Committees in most of the *arrondissements*. A French prisoner of war had written to Paris that he had visited the Leipzig section of the International and had been very heartily received.

Cit. *Marx* stated that not only the resolution about expelling the Germans but also the letter in the *Paris-Journal* was an invention; he had written to the *Times* about it.[153]

He had received a letter from Leipzig[154] stating that it was generally believed that Bebel would not be liberated, because the attorney-general would oppose it. Cit. Dupont had received two lengthy reports from Brest[155] which he had sent to him and of which he would give a summary next week. Also a letter from Ciotat in the department of the Var. Cit. Bastelica had formed a branch there. E. Prenez was the correspondent and he desired Dupont to send an address in the name of the Council to encourage them.

It was agreed that Cit. Dupont should be empowered to send an address in the name of the Council.

Cit. *Jung* communicated a letter received by Cit. Stepney that by the aid of Malon an orphan asylum for the children of Free-Trinkers fallen in the war had been established. It was the first secular institution of the kind in France.

Cit. *Engels* then gave a description of the state of things in Paris.[156] He said the letters received during the week from Paris, which Serraillier had already mentioned, had cleared up what had been incomprehensible before. It had appeared as if a few men had suddenly seized a number of cannon and kept them. The whole of the press and everyone of the correspondents had written that these men must be [put] down but the French Government had temporised. The information received from our Paris Committee was [that] the National Guards paid for the making of these guns and liked to keep them. After the election they had found that the Republic was anything but safe under such an Assembly as had been elected. When the Prussians had entered Paris the guns had been taken away to another part of the town to keep them out of their reach. Then the Government had laid claim to them and endeavoured to take them away from the National Guards. Aurelle de Paladines had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards and prefect of the police.* Under Napoleon he had been Commander-in-Chief of the Gendarmerie and he was a partisan of the priests. At the bidding of Dupanloup, the bishop of Orleans, he had done five hours' penance at church while his army had been defeated in an action with the Germans. This had left no doubt as to the intentions of the Government.

The National Guards had then prepared for resistance. Out of 260 batallions 215 had organised a Central Committee, men and officers combined. A delegate had been elected by each company out of whom the local commit-

* The entry is not exact. See p. 163 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

tees of the *arrondissements*, or wards, had been formed, and they had elected the Central Committee.

Out of twenty *arrondissements* only five had not elected any delegates. When the Assembly had removed to Versailles the Government had tried to clear Paris of the revolutionists and take the guns from them. The troops only just arrived in Paris had been meant to be employed under the command of Vinoy who had commanded the soldiers that shot down the people on the boulevards during the *coup d'état* in 1851. They had partly succeeded early in the morning but when the National Guards had discovered what had been done they had set to work to retake the guns and the soldiers had fraternised with the people. The town was now in the hands of the people; the troops that had not gone over had been withdrawn to Marseilles and the Assembly did not know what to do. None of the men of the Central Committee were known to fame, there were no Félix Pyats and men of that stamp in it, but they were well known among the working class. There were four members of the International in the Committee.

The Commune was to be elected the next day. They had announced that the liberty of the press should be respected but not the rotten Bonapartist press. The most important resolution passed was that the preliminaries of peace should be respected. The Prussians were still near and if they could be kept out of the quarrel the chances of success were increased.

Cit. *Serraillier* stated that the 4th Regiment of marines had been fetched from Toulon and had arrived in Paris on Monday morning. Instead of shooting the people, as they [have] been told, they had marched to the Hôtel de Ville and declared for the revolution. The marines had been the only old soldiers that had been available. Lecomte had been shot by his own men. He was the general that had caused the women and children to be shot before the Hôtel de Ville in January.[157]

Clément Thomas was one of the generals who massacred the people in June 1848. "Charge this rabble" was his word of command. During the siege he had been commander of the National Guards of Belleville and had spread the report over Paris that the men of Belleville spent all their money in drink and would not fight. To the men of Belleville he had said the others would not fight and he had created dissension between the National Guards and the army. They had called each other the peace party and shot upon each other at their first meeting. He had betrayed the men of Belleville and the men [of] Montmartre had avenged them.[158]

Cit. *Hales* then announced that he was trying to organise a section of the International in the East [of London]. He should like some action to be taken to express sympathy with Paris.

*Eccarius* suggested that something might be done on Wednesday evening at the Wellington Music Hall where a republican meeting was to take place.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that Citizens Weston, Hales, Jung and Serraillier should be appointed as a deputation to attend the meeting to invite the men to express sympathy with the Paris movement.

Cit. *Harris* seconded and said there would be another meeting on Friday at the Hall of Science, Old Street.

After some remarks in favour by Citizens *Weston* and *Milner* the proposition was unanimously carried.

Cit. *Marx* adjourned the opening of the Irish question on account of the lateness of the hour.

Cit. *Weston* thought if things went on right in Paris, a demonstration in favour might be got up on Good Friday.

It was agreed to wait till the next meeting to decide.

Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*JOHN WESTON*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*March 28*[159]

Members present: *Boon*, *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Kolb*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Robin*, *Pfänder*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous [meeting] were read.

Cit. *Engels* pointed out that there was a mistake: two Generals, Aurelle de Paladines and Valentin, were made into one. The latter had been appointed as prefect of the police. He also complained about the slovenly way in which the reports were printed in the *Eastern Post*. The punctuation was so bad that everything was confused.

After some observations by Citizens *Boon*, *Jung*, *Harris* and *Mottershead* the Minutes were confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* announced that in consequence of a letter from the Paris Committee Cit. Serraillier had been sent to Paris.[160] He had [been] supplied [with] £5 which he looked upon as money lent on behalf of the Council.

He further stated: his letter to the *Times* concerning the forged letter that had appeared in the papers had been misconstrued by Fonvielle, a writer in one of the Bonapartist papers, the *Liberté*. In a letter of the previous day's *Times*[161] Fonvielle fell foul of the Central Committee and declared that Marx had fairly declared that none belonged to the International, that they were all forgers. He had only declared the letter in the *Paris-Journal* [which was] reprinted in the *Times* a forgery. It was well known that there were members of the International in the Central Committee.

Cit. *Lessner* proposed and Cit. *Jung* seconded that £5 be voted for Cit. Serraillier as travelling expenses. Carried unanimously.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 201-04 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* announced that the Prussian Government had dropped all other charges against our friends in Germany except that of belonging to the International. The International wanted to establish the Social and Democratic Republic and therefore it was high treason to belong to it. This had been the charge on which the men at Vienna had been convicted and sentenced to long imprisonment though they were now released.[162] Liebknecht's Counsel believed they would be acquitted. It was made high treason to correspond with Marx, he*.

Cit. *Jung* then gave a report on behalf of the deputation to the Wellington Music Hall meeting.[163] He had only heard part of Odger's speech from which it appeared that a kind of Central Republican Club was to be established. A resolution in that sense had been adopted to which Wade had moved the addition of "Social and Democratic". 26 had voted for the addition and 50 against it. Hales had then spoken on behalf of the deputation and Serraillier had been well received. A resolution expressing sympathy with the workmen of Paris in their present struggle had been unanimously passed.

Cit. Jung also attended two smaller meetings in the East of London. At both meetings he had advised that they should form a branch of the International. Resolutions to that effect had been proposed and the men present had seemed unanimous, but at both places the discussion had been adjourned. Hales had attended the meeting at the Hall of Science.[164]

Cit. *Mottershead* said that he had conversed with Odger who seems desirous to confine his programme to the simple form of Republican Government. He, Mottershead, would not change the English Constitution for some of the Republican ones. Bradlaugh too had made a long speech on Friday and all he wanted was to repeal the Settlement of 1701.[165]

* A gap in the MS.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Jung* thought those who were not inclined to come [to] us ought not to be prevented doing something. A simple republic would have greater effect here than abroad because the working class was better developed.

Cit. *Harris* thought it was possible to retard the labour movement by a sham republican agitation. Social reform was needed upon which the political superstructure had to be erected.

Cit. *Weston* was rather pleased that so many had voted for [the] "Social [and] Democratic" and none against the republic.

Cit. *Engels* said the question was not whether we support a republican movement but whether under present circumstances it would drive into our path. There were men like Peter Taylor and others who were simply for the republic but it must be considered that the abolition of monarchy would involve the abolition of the State Church, the House of Lords and many other things. No republican movement could go on here without expanding into a working-class movement and if such a movement was to take place it would be as well to know how it went on. Before our ideas could be carried into practice we must have the republic. We must watch it and [it] was right for our members to take part in it and try to shape it. If it turned into a middle-class affair it would become a clique. The working [class] could not but break with all established forms.

Cit. *Harris* said there was no State Church in America but the working classes were as badly off as here.

Cit. *Engels* said there was as much oppression in America as here, but the republic gave a fair field for the working classes to agitate. In the densely populated states the labour movement was organised but the extent of unoccupied land prevented [it from] getting stronger than it was.

Cit. *Marx* was convinced that no republican movement could become serious without becoming social. The wire-

pullers of the present move of course intended no such thing.

On the proposition of *Mottershead* the report of the deputation was received.

Cit. *Marx* then proposed that an address be issued to the people of Paris.

Cit. *Harris* seconded, carried unanimously.

Cit. *Cohn* proposed that Cit. Marx draw up the address.

Cit. *Harris* seconded, carried unanimously.

Cit. *Harris* announced that the Secretary of the Sunday League[166] had sent a note asking for rent.

Cit. *Engels* proposed and *Mottershead* seconded that a quarter's rent be paid, and the remaining arrears be reported. Carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*JOHN HALES*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*April 4*[167]

Members present: *Boon, Cohn, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Milner, Lessner, Mottershead, Robin, Rühl, Weston, Townshend, Pfänder, Engels, Marx.***

Cit. *Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

### CORRESPONDENCE

San Francisco. A German letter was received from San Francisco asking for English Rules and other papers.[168] The

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 204-06 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The names of Engels and Marx are in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

letter was referred to the German Correspondent for the United States.*

Cit. *Engels* read a letter from the Secretary of the Antwerp section** stating that the Cigar-Makers had some time since formed a union and entered into correspondence with the Cigar-Makers of Holland, Germany and England, which had not been to the masters' taste, so they had formed a union of their own and told the men if they did not abandon theirs they would be locked out. The men had unanimously refused to comply and 500 were now locked out. They had 6,000 francs in hand but that would not last long with so many mouths to fill, they therefore asked the Council for assistance.[169]

Cit. *Cohn* said that he had gone to Brussels and Antwerp in 1868 under the auspices of the International for the purpose of establishing cigar-makers' unions, in which he had been completely successful.[170] There were only four men out of the Union at Brussels and forty-nine at Antwerp. At Liège and other places they were all in the Union, and from Belgium they had established unions in Holland. All these cigar-makers' societies belonged to the International.

Some time since about a hundred Belgians in London had formed a society and contributed something every week. It was simply a benevolent society; they gave £2 for a burial. Four weeks ago they had sent £6 to Antwerp, and immediately the masters had found that out they had set about not to employ their men any longer unless they left the Union. The statement that the International had brought about the strike was false. Just before the war there had been an intention to strike but this society had sent a letter, which had been approved of by the Council, to prevent the strike[171] and that advice had been cordially accepted.

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*
** Coenen.—*Ed.*

Last Wednesday a letter had arrived from Antwerp and on Monday night they had held a special meeting and voted £150 against three votes. This would not exhaust their resources. The Belgians here had sent £20, which, with the £240 the men of Antwerp had themselves, made a pretty round sum. The men locked out were content with 5 francs a week, still divided among 500 it would not last many weeks. There was another society at Liverpool who would do something and the tobacco strippers were pretty well to do just now, they would do something.

The masters' secretary had been to Holland to get men but they had refused everywhere. If the men could be kept out for five or six weeks, the masters would have to give in, and it was the duty of the Council to assist. The men were determined not to give the police any opportunity to interfere, they had resolved that no two should walk together in the street. They wanted no grants, only loans.

Cit *Engels* proposed and Cit. *Cohn* seconded that a circular letter[172] be sent to the trade societies, and that deputations wait on them. Carried.

It was then resolved that 100 copies be printed.

Cit. *Engels* announced that Marx had a letter from California which had been sent to Dupont,[173] and another from Liebknecht which would be brought next week.[174] Liebknecht, Bebel and Hepner had been released on giving their word of honour to appear. The Brunswick prisoners had been discharged because the Court of Accusation had found no evidence for a prosecution. All the charges of the Bismarck papers—assassination and all manners of things—turned out false.

Cit. *Hales* reported that he had attended a meeting on Thursday at "Prince of Wales", Hart's Lane, Bethnal Green, where a section of the International had been formed.

At another meeting on Sunday at the "Good Intent", Elizabeth Street, a branch had also been established and

thirty members enrolled, among whom were eight ladies. They had appointed officers, also a delegate. At both places the resolution had been unanimously carried.

Cit. *Engels* stated that in consequence of the occurrences at Paris Cit. Marx thought the issuing of an address now would be out of place.

This opinion was unanimously endorsed.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

April 11th, *THOS. MOTTERSHEAD*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*April 11*[175]

Members present: *Bradnick*, *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*; *Marx* and *Pfänder* excused on account of illness.

Cit. *Mottershead* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

### CORRESPONDENCE

The Secretary of the Bristol Radical Association remitted three shillings in stamps to the account of the German political prisoners' collection and complained that hard times prevented it being more.[176]

The Secretary of the Bricklayers' Society sent all the sheets back with the remark that trade was too bad.

Mr. Spalding of Herne Hill required some documents and other information about the Association.[177]

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 207-11 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Secretary* was instructed to reply and forward papers.

The *Secretary* announced that he had sent upwards of seventy circulars to trade societies, and proposed that a deputation should be appointed in case it was wanted.[178]

Cit. *Cohn* stated that the cigar-makers had appointed eight and the Belgians here had volunteered to accompany; it would therefore only require one member of the Council to go with a deputation.

The Secretary was appointed by a unanimous vote.

Cit. *Cohn* stated that they had received a letter from Brussels that in consequence of 23 men striking the whole 300 had been locked out. They said they had 16,000 francs and they asked for a £400 loan. The Antwerp men had 500 and had only asked for £150. There was something not quite clear; this society** had written to both places but not received any reply yet. The papers of the day announced that the International had endeavoured to bring about an agreement but the employers would not have anything to do with them.

Cit. *Engels* announced that there were several strikes in Spain.[179] He also read a correspondence from Barcelona to the *Volksstaat* from which it appeared that the Republican Party had been defeated in the election for the Cortes but the Republicans were victorious in the elections for the provincial Diets, and at Barcelona only five Monarchists had been elected against nine Republicans two of whom were members of the International. Their victory in the municipal elections was sure. Castelar and his friends were severely criticised; one Pi y Margall, who had the reputation of being a Socialist, had proposed a tax on day wages. An active socialist propaganda is carried on at Madrid by means of public meetings and pamphlets.

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** London Cigar-Makers' Association.—*Ed.*

Cit. Engels said the man who wrote that letter seemed to be much better than those working on the papers who preached abstention from politics.[180]

Cit. *Bradnick*, who had been at Leicester during the last five months, stated that the men of Leicester were much more radical than the London men and republicanism was widespread. There had been three working men elected on the School Board and there was a possibility of sending a working man to Parliament at the next election. He had not taken any part in any movement because he had been unsettled not knowing how long he should stay. There was room for a section, he thought.

Cit. *Engels* said he had another fact to communicate. The press had lately been full of the wonders done by the Association, but the last stated in a Paris paper was that Marx had been private secretary to Bismarck in 1857.[181]

He further said it would not be well to allow the Paris affair to go on without saying something about it. As long as the Central Committee of the National Guards had managed the affair, it had gone on well but after the elections[182] there had been talk and no action. The time for action against Versailles had been when it was weak but that opportunity had been lost and now it seemed that Versailles was getting the upper hand and driving the Parisians back. People would not put up long with being led into defeat. They lost ground, their ammunition was spent to little purpose and they were eating up their provisions. They could not be starved into submission as long as one side of Paris was open. Favre declined to take Prussian help.[183] In June 1848 the fight had been over in four days but then the work-people had had no cannon. It would not be over so quick now. Louis Napoleon had made the streets wide that they might be swept with cannon against the work-people but now it was in their favour: they would

sweep the streets with cannon against the other party. The work-people—200,000 men—[were] far better organised than at any other insurrection. Their case was a bad one but the chances were not so good as a fortnight ago.

Cit. *Mottershead* did not believe it would be over in a few weeks. France would be in a chronic state of revolution for 5 or 6 years. Paris must conquer the country.

Cit. *Milner* said that an expression of opinion by the Council was urgent. The Republican League* had issued an address[184] in which the matter was fairly put, and they wanted an expression of opinion from other people.

Cit. *Cohn* moved that discussion be suspended until a deputation that was present had been heard. Agreed.

Cit. *Oliver* then spoke on behalf of the deputation which had been sent by the International Democratic Association.[185] He stated that the Association had called a meeting for Sunday next in Hyde Park to express sympathy with the Paris work-people, and they invited the co-operation of the Council to make it a success. They thought of sending an address to the Commune and to publish another to the English people. They also desired to know whether the Council would furnish any pecuniary support.

Cit. *Murray*, one of the deputation, then read the draft of an address to the English people.

The *Chairman*** said before the co-operation could be promised it was necessary to know the resolutions. He agreed on the whole with the contents of the address, 9/10 of which were facts but it would have to be shortened and made more pointed. We were not only very broad in our views but also articulate.

Cit. *Taylor*, of the deputation, said the resolutions would be ready on Friday when the delegates were to meet.

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* The Universal Republican League.—*Ed.*

** Mottershead.—*Ed.*

The *Chairman*: the matter resolved itself into three points: (1) help to get up the meeting; (2) to contribute to the means; (3) to get up the addresses.

Cit. *Milner* suggested that delegates should be sent to co-operate.

Cit. *Jung* thought the time was too short. The Council would not meet again before the meeting came off. No middle-class [spirit] ought to be used in the address.

Cit. *Lassassie* thought the address ought to express that the people of Paris had a right to rise, that they had a right to municipal government, that they had a right to throw the state religion overboard, and dissolve the standing army.

Cit. *Eccarius* did not believe in an invitation to co-operate at the last moment after everything else had been settled. The proper way to get up such a meeting would have been to consult the various organisations before the meeting had been fixed. He was for everyone doing his best to make it a success, but he was against the Council identifying itself with the getting up [of the meeting] and the documents that might result from it.

Cit. *Engels* endorsed this view and wanted to know how it was that the International Democratic Association was not affiliated to the International. The International had been blamed for everything lately, a great responsibility rested upon it.

Cit. *Oliver* stated that they had formed part of the Reform League[186] a few years ago which had proved a sham, and from what they had heard of the International they had not believed it went far enough. He alluded to Lucraft's speeches at the congresses as rather mild.

Cit. *Weston* had not known that there was to be a meeting until last Friday. Most Council members would have a statement that had gone the round of the papers about a split among the democracy that had determined him to take

an active part. This Council should throw in its influence to make it a success and he held it to be cowardice if [it] was not done. He moved that the Council should co-operate with the [Democratic] Association and prepare the resolutions and address.

Cit. *Harris* was pleased with the attempt to recognise the revolution and seconded the proposition.

Cit. *Cohn* thought the co-operation ought to be limited to sending a deputation of three or four to attend [the meeting] in Hyde Park.

Cit. *Milner* proposed that a deputation be appointed to attend the delegate meeting on Friday.

Cit. *Townshend* seconded.

The *Chairman* refuted the charge of cowardice, and stated that Lucraft, though he differed from him in many things, had done battle for democracy before many of us had dreamt of it and that he was perfectly honest.

Cit. *Bradnick* said the time was too short to co-operate in getting up the demonstration. He moved as an amendment that the members of the Council should use its influence to make the demonstration a success but not appoint delegates.

Cit. *Eccarius* seconded.

Some suggestion was thrown out that it would be as well to vote against Milner's proposition as [to] adopt that amendment.

The *Chairman* ruled that it was a real amendment and differed greatly from negativing the resolution.

The amendment was carried by six against five.

The *Chairman* then put the original resolution which was rejected by a majority.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*April 18*[187]

Members present: *Bradnick*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Sadler*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

### CORRESPONDENCE

A letter was received from the Secretary of the Oxford Republican Club enclosing a printed programme of the Club, and asking for information and documents to see whether the aims of the International were, as the Club supposed, such that co-operation for the common object could be brought about.[188]

The Secretary** was instructed to reply and forward documents.

A letter was received from the Secretary of the London Compositors' Society announcing that a deputation concerning the Antwerp lock-out would be received on the evening of the 26th.[189]

Cit. *Engels* announced the receipt of a letter from Madrid*** appealing for assistance on account of a spinners' and weavers' strike.

The Secretary was instructed to communicate with Manchester.[190]

He [Engels] further communicated that in Germany meetings were held to express sympathy with the Commune.[191]

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 211-14 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** Originally "Barcelona" was written here.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* announced that the Prussian police expected him in Germany and had prepared to catch him.[192]

At Paris Serraillier and other members of the International had been elected to fill up vacancies in the Commune.

Cit. *Jung* stated that the lady to whom he had given letters to Serraillier and Rochat had written from Lille that both had not been home from the Hôtel de Ville for three nights and that she had not seen them. But she was returning to Paris when she would have more time and would visit them at the Hôtel de Ville.

Cit. *Weston* announced that the following telegram appeared in the London papers:

"The International Working Men's Association has published the following declaration:—considering that Mr. Tolain was elected to the National Assembly to represent the working classes, and that he has deserted their cause in the most cowardly manner, the Parisian Federal Council of the International expels him from its midst, and proposes to the General Council of London to confirm this decision."[193]

At the Hyde Park meeting[194] Cit. Weston had made the acquaintance of a man [by] the name of Richards who had been in possession of some papers in French and German and had evinced great enthusiasm for the revolution. He had represented himself as a member of the Association but on account of having to go to Nottingham on Monday he could not have invited him to attend the Council meeting on Tuesday. He was engaged at the exhibition.

Cit. *Hales* introduced Cit. Sadler as the delegate of the Hackney Road branch.

Cit. *Hales* proposed and *Engels* seconded that he be admitted. Carried.

Cit. *Hales* communicated that the Bethnal Green branch had appointed Cit. Bradnick as Secretary.

Cit. *Jung*, referring to the statement about Tolain, was in doubt whether the Council ought to deal with an affair that was only [a] newspaper report.

Cit. *Robin* was of opinion that the Council had nothing [to do] with it as the Paris section was competent to expel members. The time to act would be when Tolain presented himself elsewhere to become a member.

*Eccarius* thought the Council would only have to deal with it if Tolain should appeal.

Cit. *Weston* thought that Tolain being a noted man his case was somewhat different from other cases, but he did not consider it right to act on a newspaper report.

Cit. *Engels* said if the publication was official it ought to be registered.

Cit. *Marx* said if the publication appeared in one of the French papers and the Paris Council asked for confirmation it ought to be given. Tolain deserved to be branded. In public he passed as a representative of the International.

It was then agreed that "if the English telegram should be found true that the General Council confirm the expulsion of Tolain from the International and publish the decision".

Cit. *Hales* stated that he had laid out 4s. 6d. for the meetings at which the two branches of the International had been established.

On the propositions of Cit. *Engels*, seconded by *Marx*, it was unanimously resolved that the money be reinbursed.

Cit. *Milner* asked if the Council did not think it necessary to make some statement about the state of Paris.

Cit. *Jung* thought it necessary but, wanting direct communications from Paris, we had only false newspaper reports.

Cit. *Marx* said: under existing circumstances an address to the International generally about the general tendency of the struggle was the only thing that might be done.

Cit. *Weston* thought it desirable that the Council should show some signs of life. A resolution in general terms might be drawn up.

Cit. *Marx* thought that might be done and an address issued afterwards.

Cit. *Milner* wanted the Council to express its opinion on the struggle. If nothing was done the Council would lose its influence.

Cit. *Harris* said the London press could get their papers from Paris but we could not. The leading articles were worse than the correspondence.

Cit. *Milner* proposed a resolution which Cit. *Sadler* seconded, but it being half past eleven o'clock the question was adjourned on the understanding that it should [have] precedence of other business at the next meeting.

The Council adjourned at 25 minutes to 12 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Gen. Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*April 25*[195]

Members present: *Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Pfänder, Mottershead, Robin, Townshend.*

Cit. *Hales* excused.

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** announced that he had received a circular inviting the Council to send a delegate to a conference held for the purpose of establishing a Universal Republican League.

Cit. *Harris* stated that he had attended the conference on the previous evening and that only about fourteen men had

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 211-18 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.— *Ed.*

been present. He moved that the receipt of the circular be acknowledged.

It was then agreed that the Secretary should acknowledge the receipt of the circular and state that the Council could not enter into another international society.

The *Secretary* further announced that on the previous Saturday he had attended the Executive of the Gilders' Society who had voted one pound for the locked-out cigar-makers in Belgium; the society had only 27 members.[196]

Cit. *Engels* stated that from the letter and papers from Spain he had gathered that the same thing was going on in the Cotton Trade of Spain as had been going on in England for the last thirty years. The work-people were superseded by machinery; men and women by children, and wages went down. This was the reason of the strike at Barcelona. The Secretary had written to Manchester but received no answer yet, but little could be expected as there was a kind of strike preparing in the factory districts about closing the mills at twelve o'clock on Saturdays. The mill owners of Oldham had at first given way but others had worked them up to refuse and Oldham would be selected for a trial of resistance. He had already written to Spain explaining the state of things.

Cit. *Cohn* announced that there was a lock-out of the cigar-makers at Brussels as well as at Antwerp. The London society had sent its Secretary and a Belgian to make a full inquiry. Thirty men had been fetched from Holland but they had all gone back. The men were confident that the lock-out could not last long. They had a claim for support upon the working men, having sent 3,000 fr. to Leipzig during the time of the German cigar-makers' strike. A Dutch society, whose members worked in the low price shops, had been started in London about nine months ago, [and] had contributed £15. The tobacco strippers £20. Another society had £25 in hands and had voted a share to the Belgians; the London Belgians had sent 375 fr.

Between March 31 and April 18, 13 fr. had been collected at evening entertainments at Antwerp; a private gentleman had given 10 fr.; Ghent had 74 fr. and 14 fr.; Altona in Germany—168 fr.; Amsterdam—200 fr.; and from another place 30 fr. had been received. The London society had not yet written to Liverpool.

Cit. *Marx* read a letter from the Secretary of the New York Committee giving the following list of sections represented by delegates in the Committee[197]:

1. General German Working Men's Society (Labour Union No. 5).
2. French section of the International Working Men's Association, New York.
3. Czechian Working Men's Society, New York.
4. Social-Political Working Men's Society 1, Chicago.
5. Social-Political Working Men's Society 2, Chicago.
6. Social-Democratic Working Men's Society, New York.

(4–6: German)

7. Irish section of the International Working Men's Association, New York.
8. Social-Democratic Society, Williamsburgh, New York (German).

The sections were reported as doing good work; the Irish is rapidly increasing and trying to enter into combination with the Irish Confederation of the United States. Progress has been made to establish a weekly German newspaper. The Working Men's Union had decided that only delegates representing Labour not. . .*

[Marx] . . . or papers.** This would be rectified in future as the commercial communications between the Commune and London would be kept up by a travelling agent who would also take charge of our communications.

* A page is missing in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The beginning of Marx's speech is not extant.—*Ed.*

Serraillier and Dupont had been elected to fill up vacancies in the 17th *arrondisement*.[198] Serraillier had written that Dupont was sure to be elected but he had not written since the election; he might have written to Manchester. It appeared that more letters had been written than had arrived.

Félix Pyat and Vésinier were calumniating Serraillier and Dupont in Paris and when Serraillier had threatened to prosecute they had denied it. It was urgent to write at once to Paris to state the reasons why Pyat calumniated Serraillier and Dupont,[199] and upon the motion of Cit. *Mottershead* Cit. Marx was instructed to write.

[*Marx*:] The letters had been posted outside the line by Lafargue; they had therefore been delayed by rail: both the French and the Prussian governments sifted the letters. Most of the information they contained was old but there were a few facts which the papers had not given. It was stated that the provinces knew as little what was going on in Paris as during the siege. Except where the fighting was going on it had never been so quiet.[200] A great part of the middle class had joined the National Guards of Belleville. The great capitalists had run away and the small tradespeople went with the working class. No one could have an idea of the enthusiasm of the people and the National Guards and the people at Versailles must be fools if they believed that they could enter Paris. Paris did not believe in a rising in the provinces and knew that superior forces were brought against it but there was no fear on that account but there was fear of Prussian intervention and want of provisions. The decrees about rent and commercial bills were two master strokes: without them 3/4 of the tradespeople would have become bankrupt. The murder of Duval and Flourens[201] had excited a sentiment of vengeance. The family of Flourens and the Commune had sent a legal officer to have the cause of their death certain but in vain. Flourens had been killed in a house.

About the fabrication of telegrams there was some information. When Brutto* had gone through the accounts of the Government of National Defence he had discovered that money had been paid for the construction of an improved portable guillotine. The guillotine had been found and publicly burnt by order of the Commune. The Gas Company had owed the municipality more than a million but had not shown any willingness to refund till their goods had been seized; then a bill to the amount had been given on the Bank of France. The telegrams and correspondents gave altogether different versions of these things. The greatest eyesore was that the Commune governed so cheap. The highest officials only received at the rate of 6,000 fr. [per] year, the others only workman's wages.

The address was to be ready at the next meeting.[202]

Cit. *Harris* stated that he had been spoken to by some women employed in the percussion cap and cartridge factories and was promised some particulars as to hours of labour and rates of wages. Missionaries visited the shops to preach; the International ought to send [its own] missionaries amongst them.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*JOHN WESTON*

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

*May 2*[203]

Members present: *Boon*, *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

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* Should be Protot.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 218-21 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary** announced the receipt of a letter from the Bristol Radical Association[204] inquiring what would be done with the three shillings sent by that Association for the families of the German political prisoners, as the prisoners were now liberated.

The Secretary was instructed to reply that it had been forwarded.

A letter from Barcelona announced that the policy of abstaining from politics had borne fruit. The people had lost their fear of socialism and the Republicans who opposed socialism had now to profess to be in favour. Addresses of dyers' societies were asked for as the Barcelona dyers were anxious to enter into correspondence with the dyers in other countries.[205]

Cit. *Mottershead* stated that dyers' societies existed at Leek, Coventry, and there was one in Spitalfields.

The *Secretary* read a paragraph from the New York *World* by O'Halloran, the Paris correspondent of that paper, repeating the statement of the *Paris-Journal* that Marx and others had planned the Paris revolution, supplementing it by the assertion that it had been done in a dingy room in Holborn.

Cit. *Harris* said that other people knew more about the Association than the members themselves. He had met a man who had boasted that he had dined with the President of the International who knew all about the Paris affairs. The President lived in the neighbourhood of Northampton Square.

Cit. *Jung* said that might concern him as he lived in that neighbourhood.

Cit. *Harris* said the man was a postman and his name

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

[was] Newman, to which Cit. *Jung* replied that he was one of his customers but a stupid fellow whom he despised and never talked of political matters to him. But he was not a postman now. Cit. Harris might tell him the next time he met him what he had heard.

Cit. *Cohn* reported for the deputation to the Compositors' Society. The deputation had been exceedingly well received and from private information he knew that £15 had been voted. The information received from the London Cigar-Makers' Society now in Belgium was satisfactory: everything had been cleared up and there was every prospect of success.

Cit. *Engels* announced that Marx had been advised to leave town on account of his health. The address was not quite ready yet. He proposed that in the event of the [address] being ready before the next meeting, the Sub-Committee be empowered, as on former occasions, to authorise the printing at once.

Cit. *Jung* stated that the delay of the address was justified by the fact that letters from Paris to Mrs. Serraillier had been received on the previous day, which might contain important facts. Serraillier had posted seven letters at St. Denis, none of which had been delivered here. The Russian lady* had written that she was carrying on an active propaganda among the fair sex, that she was holding crowded meetings every night, and that an amazon corps was to be raised. Some 5,000 had enlisted already. Her health was so precarious that she did not believe she would survive the struggle.[206]

Cit. *Engels*'s proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Cit. *Jung* then asked what was to be done with regard to signing the names of members who had not attended for a long time such as Applegarth and Odger. Applegarth told

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* Y. Tomanovskaya (Dmitriyeva). –*Ed.*

him that he had been driven to resign his situation as secretary of society and, his health being too delicate to resume work at the bench, his name being put [on] the address might militate against his future prospects.

*Eccarius* proposed that the rule of signing all the names of the members of the Council to official documents should be suspended with respect to the pending address.

Cit. *Engels* was against it.

Cit. *Milner* was for the rule holding good.

Cit. *Harris* could not see why any one should object to having his name on it. If Applegarth desired to be omitted, leave him out.

Cit. *Mottershead* said the proposition of Eccarius amounted to rescinding the resolution that all the names of the members should be signed to official documents.

*Eccarius* said he did not want that resolution rescinded but only suspended for the present occasion.

Cit. *Jung* stated that he was instructed by Applegarth to bring the question forward but he had told him that he might be driven to court middle-class friendship.

It was then agreed that Jung should talk the matter over with Applegarth and Eccarius with Odger.

Cit. *Milner* recurred to a proposition he had made many a time before, the question of drawing up an international price book.[207] The same kind of work was paid differently in different countries and the International was the only organised body in existence that could get up such a work. The professional traders were in possession of all the information they required to promote their interests and it was for the International to convey* information respecting the interest of the working classes, to wit: the prices paid, the social condition of the workers, etc. He concluded with the proposition that the question be put on the order of the day for consideration.

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* Here the words "the same" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Jung* said the resolution to collect labour statistics had been carried at every Congress but no progress had been made.[208]

Cit. *Mottershead* said the best mode of proceeding would be for Milner to appoint a committee to take charge of the matter. It would be a difficult task for any one to undertake. What held good for day workers would not hold good for piece workers.

Cit. *Harris* said we would have to go outside the trade unions to complete the work. There was contract work and all manners of work that would have to be dealt with; he was willing to assist.

Cit. *Milner* fell in with the suggestion of Mottershead, and it was agreed to postpone any further discussion till the next meeting.

*JOHN HALES*, Chairman

*JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Secretary

## *MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*May 9*[209]

Members present: *Bradnick*, *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Mottershead*, *Pfänder*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Cit. *Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and with a little addition confirmed.

The *Secretary*** desired to make a statement before the business of the evening was proceeded with. He stated that he had resolved upon resigning the secretaryship and the

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 221-27 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Council would much oblige him by accepting his resignation at once.

The *Chairman* considered that it would be but fair to give some reason for it, and Cit. *Mottershead* wished to know whether he was going to give up at once or go on with the business of the night.

The *Secretary* replied that he should like to be relieved at once. One reason of the resignation was that he was going to sit down to tailoring the next morning but he was willing to continue till another secretary was appointed if it was not considered convenient to proceed at once with appointing one, but he was desirous that the resignation should be accepted at once and without discussion.

Cit. *Mottershead* then moved that the resignation be accepted.

Cit. *Cohn* seconded the proposition; it was carried unanimously.

*Eccarius* announced that the London compositors had voted the Belgian cigar-makers a loan of fifteen pounds.

A letter had been received from the Thames Ship Caulkers stating that they were not able to render an aid.[210]

Cit. *Jung* stated that he had received a letter from Switzerland[211] inquiring how it was that Serraillier had not written according to promise about Paris. The reason was that Serraillier was no longer here.

He had spoken to Applegarth about the signing of the address and Applegarth had left it entirely to him. He thought it would be better not to put Applegarth's name down.

*Eccarius* stated that he had spoken to Odger who still considered himself a member of the Council and had no objection to his name being put to the address though he should like to see it before it was printed. Eccarius renewed his proposition that only the officers should sign this time but the proposition was not seconded.

Cit. *Mottershead* desired to have Odger on it as he had the character of a true representative of labour not only in this country but abroad.

Cit. *Engels* stated that the strikes in Spain were still going on. The Belgian strike was going on too. He had received a letter referring him to the *Werker* for particulars but the *Werker* had not come to hand. The masters had at last engaged 30 French women but there was no doubt that they would be served the same as the Dutch men, that was paying their travelling expenses back. Some employers had given in but most stick to their resolution. It appeared that the Brussels men were not quite affiliated and they wanted to know if the London cigar-makers were affiliated as a society, and if so they wished that a letter be written to that effect. There was a Dutch congress to be held at which the attendance of a London delegate was wanted.*

Cit. *Engels* further stated that Professor Beesly had received a letter from a working men's society in New Zealand who addressed him as Chairman of the International. As the letter was meant for the Council Professor Beesly had sent it to Cit. Marx.

The letter was then read. It gave an account of the manner in which people are induced to go to New Zealand, [of] the heartless treatment they meet with after their arrival there, and of the misery and destitution that has already resulted from it. A desire was expressed in the letter that the Council should publish it in England for the benefit of intending emigrants to prevent them, if possible, being taken in as others have been; and the Council was asked if it was willing to enter into regular correspondence with the society in New Zealand.

It was agreed that the letter should be published in full and the Secretary was instructed to reply.[212]

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* This sentence was inserted later. –*Ed.*

Cit. *Cohn* recurring to the Belgian cigar-makers' affair thought Cit. Engels should write to Belgium and inform them that the London cigar-makers had been the first trade society that had been affiliated to the International. He continued by stating that the London delegates had returned, they had established societies in other towns. He had fetched the 15 pounds from the compositors, there were £56 in hands to be forwarded; everything was going on well; Belgians had also received money from America. The French women had already arrived. They were from Strasbourg and Metz, out of the former government works. The trade was thrown open now by the Prussians. But the Belgian employers were not satisfied with the girls: they were indifferent workers and lived rather more expensively than the Belgians did. As to the affiliation, it appeared that many cigar-makers were individually members of the International but their trade society was not affiliated.

Cit. *Engels* was of opinion that a letter from the London cigar-makers about their affiliation would be preferable. Cit. Cohn might write one and he would forward it.

Cit. *Jung* thought it would have a better effect if the London cigar-makers sent an official letter direct.

This was endorsed.

Cit. *Bradnick* stated that Cit. Buttery was present as a delegate from the Bethnal Green branch. He proposed that the delegate be accepted.

Cit. *Jung* seconded. Carried unanimously.

Cit. *Engels* then stated that the address* was not ready yet. Cit. Marx had been seriously unwell and drawing up the address had made him worse. But it would be ready on Saturday and the Sub-Committee could meet at Marx's any time after five o'clock in the afternoon.

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* *The Civil War in France.—Ed.*

A delegate from the Commune had been here, the reports were good. Strictness had to be employed not to let people pass without passports. It had been discovered that spies from Versailles had lounged about at their leisure. The main attack had failed. The Versailles army had tried to get in between the National Guards and the ramparts but now they could only attack in one place and that was where they had failed before. The defence was getting stronger. The Commune had lost a little ground [but] had regained Clamart. Even if the army succeeded at the ramparts there were the barricades afterwards and there had never been such a struggle before as the one impending. For the first time barricades would be defended by cannon, by military guns, and by regularly organised forces. The contending armies were nearly equal now. Versailles could get no troops from the country, they had to send some away to keep the towns in order. Thiers could not even allow the Town Councils to meet at Bordeaux and talk politics, he had to use Napoleon's Law to prevent it.[213]

Cit. *Jung* called the attention of the Council to the celebration of Robert Owen's centenary, and expressed his opinion that the Council ought to be represented by a deputation to express our views.[214] He proposed that a deputation be sent.

Cit. *Engels* seconded the proposition. He said he knew too little of the promoters of the affair but there was no doubt about Robert Owen. There were things to be found in his writings that had not been superseded yet. He had started from his own ideas, had been originally a manufacturer himself and the first that had stood up against his class to put a stop to the shameful system in which women and children had been employed in factories. He thought the International ought to be represented.

Cit. *Mottershead* said he bows to none in his estimation for Robert Owen but must look [to see] who was getting [it] up. Judging from the majority of the names on the

programme it would be a very weak edition of socialism. After the passing of the Reform Bill,[215] when the middle class had come into power, they had found that Robert Owen's principles really aimed at their power and they had tried to put him down. Unfortunately, he had mixed up his doctrines with metaphysics and instead of forcing the economical reforms it had been turned into a religious affair. At the close the Christian socialists had stepped in and become co-operators and the leading men had gone with them. Some falsified specimen of the socialists would talk about what they had done at Rochdale[216] and the beauties of private property. He was sorry that it was so but he must oppose the motion.* However, he had not been quite so original as Engels seemed to think. His socialism he had had from older French writers, his religious ideas from Locke.

Cit. *Harris* said if possible the Council ought to be represented. He had known Owen personally and had worked with him. He had given up £75,000 he had made out of his factory people and told them so and given it up and retired. The Christian socialists were humbugs. Maurice, Hughes and others had lent money on condition that the people concerned should not appoint their own managers until the debts were paid but they had not allowed them to pay their debts. Incompetent men had been appointed as managers. At the tailors' place, where he had worked, the books had been improperly kept, they had required an accountant to put them to rights and when they had complained, complaints had been made against them. Outsiders had not been entitled to any profits. He should like to send Mottershead.

Cit. *Cohn* thought a deputation was required to prevent mispresentations.

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* The next two sentences were inserted later.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Engels* objected to Mottershead that Locke had been a deist but Owen a materialist. Locke's philosophy had led the French to materialism. He doubted that Owen had been acquainted with the older French writers. He differed entirely from Mottershead. Owen's movement had commenced as early as 1809 and had been independent of anything previously written. In 1812 he had published his book on marriage[217] and [in] 1818 he had gone to the Kings' Congress at Aix-la-Chappelle to induce them to proclaim communism.[218] That later the movement had been more in the direction of religion was true to a certain extent but much had been said about social reform. Most of the Owenites had gone over to the middle classes. They had been Chartists but forced into the position of professional agitators and then they had become less reliable and not stuck [to] their principles. He should regret if the festival came off in such a way that we could not take part in it.

Cit. *Mottershead* objected that the socialists had not been Chartists; they had debated with Chartists to refute them and instead of standing up for social reform they [had] gone over the country to debate religion with such men as Brenilly for a living. If the International went to associate with such characters it would degrade itself, they stank throughout England, they had robbed the people.

Cit. *Engels* said he had not meant that all the socialists were Chartists but some he had known had been.

Cit. *Bradnick* did not believe it good policy to mix with them but would like to know if the International could not get up a meeting in some other way.

The *Chairman* thought a deputation ought to go to vindicate the principles of the Association. He observed that even now many people looked upon socialism as identical with atheism.

Cit. *Weston* said this Association embraced to a larger extent the principles of Robert Owen than any other association and it ought to be represented. The lectures

he had attended had always been more social than religious.

Cit. *Engels* said he agreed with Mottershead that it would be better to stop away.

Cit. *Jung* then withdrew his proposition.

Citizens Jung, Harris, Mottershead, and Weston were then appointed as a committee to select a suitable person or persons to propose as candidate for secretary at the next meeting.

It was agreed that the Sub-Committee should meet at seven o'clock on Saturday.

The Council adjourned at half past 11 o'clock.

*JOHN HALES*, Chairman*

## *MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING***

*Held May 16th, 1871*

Members present: *Bradnick*, *Buttery*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Mottershead*, *Robin*, and *Townshend*.***

Citizen *Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed, and a letter was read from Holland asking for an explanation relative to a statement, which had appeared in the principal Dutch newspaper, to the effect that the Association had advanced a large sum of money to the Commune of Paris.[219]

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* Apparently the Secretary's signature does not appear because Eccarius had retired from that post at this meeting and his successor had not been appointed.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 227-31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The names of Engels and Lessner are written between the lines. —*Ed.*

Citizen *Mottershead* asked who was Secretary for Holland, as it was necessary [that] the letter should be answered.

Citizen *Eccarius* stated no one had been appointed as Secretary for that country, whereupon Citizen *Hales* suggested that the secretaryship for Holland should be joined [to] that of some other country.

Citizen *Engels* endorsed the suggestion and proposed "That it should be joined to that of Germany* provisionally".

Citizen *Jung* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* reported that the address was not ready owing to the continued illness of Citizen Marx.**

Citizen *Harris* reported on behalf of the Sub-Committee appointed to select candidates for the office of General Secretary. Jung, Mottershead, and himself had met and discussed the matter. The names of Odger, Mottershead, Harris, and Hales were mentioned, and it was thought that Citizen Mottershead was the most eligible. It was therefore agreed to propose him; he had agreed to stand upon the understanding that the salary should be progressive.

Citizen *Jung* thought the Committee had adjourned without deciding as to who should be proposed; he should have proposed Hales, only he thought it necessary that he should first clear himself of the charge which had been made against him. It was advisable that two should be proposed so that the Council could have a choice.

Citizen *Bradnick* as a member of the Elastic Web-Weavers' Society should support the proposition, or make it if it had not been proposed, that Hales be appointed Secretary. No one had done as much for the Elastic Web-Weavers as he had. He had been Secretary of the London branch

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* Marx.—*Ed.*

** This sentence was inserted later.—*Ed.*

and President of the Amalgamation, and when he resigned office it was agreed to give him a testimonial, and he was made an honorary member. No one had been made an honorary member before, and some of the members were jealous that the honour should be conferred upon Hales. Some time after a dispute arose, and a meeting (which was illegal) was called, at which Hales was expelled on the ground that he had violated rules of the society; but the same men who made the charge afterwards withdrew it, therefore Hales had nothing to meet.

Citizen *Hales* said some time ago a dispute did occur, and certain charges were made against him at the Council, and the Council decided to investigate them, a deputation was asked to attend and bring proofs, and the subject was adjourned twice to enable them to do so. The end of it was that the charges made were withdrawn by the men who made them. He had a letter from Dry dated 10th of April expressing a wish to serve him, and hoping bygones would not be remembered.

Extract [was] read.

He also had a letter from Parnell, dated May 4th, hoping the past would be forgotten or only remembered to be forgiven; the letter [was] read.

Now he thought the proofs he had given were sufficient to exonerate him from the charges which had been made. It was true that he held opinions different from those of the society upon the question of the Employment of Females, but that question was decided in 1867, when a vote of censure was proposed against him upon the subject, which was defeated by a vote of confidence. As a proof, he was elected for three successive years President of the Amalgamation, during which time his opinions were well known.

Citizen *Engels* would propose that whoever was appointed "the election should only be for three months"; it was

necessary that a man's capacity should be tested, before he was elected permanently.

Citizen *Jung* would second the proposition as it was understood by the Committee that the appointment ought to be provisional.

Citizen *Mottershead* said that he occupied an unthankful position. When he arrived at Jung's the question had been discussed, and it was agreed that under the circumstances it was necessary to select an Englishman. The list of possible candidates resolved itself to himself and Hales, and believing that it would be impossible for Hales to fulfil the duties of the office, he accepted the nomination provisionally, for a month or so. Had he known Hales was going to stand, he should not have opposed him, but as things had gone so far, he would abide by the decision of the vote. The objection he had to Hales did not arise out of the strike as he had refused to listen to either party; it was because his position had changed. As a foreman, his whole time was engaged, it was absolutely impossible for him to get sufficient time to do the work required. The Secretary ought to be able to leave his work at times, and that Hales could not do. In one sense Hales deserved more confidence, for he had remained true to the principles and policy of the Association while other men had paid more attention to the question of home politics. The Association required a man who had plenty of time, which Hales had not. The Association ought to be made either smaller or larger, and an active Secretary could make it larger; it ought to represent the trades, which it did not do at present. He accepted the nomination as a last resource, because the Committee had no one else to propose, not to be put in competition with Hales.

Citizen *Harris* endorsed what Citizen Mottershead said; he accepted the nomination upon the understanding that the salary should not be less, but progressive. For his part

he preferred Odger to Hales, as he knew nothing about Hales's ability.

Citizen *Jung* said that his conduct might seem disloyal to the Committee but his conduct was influenced by the impression that Bradnick would oppose Hales, an impression which it appeared was altogether wrong.

Citizen *Mottershead* again protested against being put in a false position, by being put in competition with Hales; he didn't know how his name was suggested to the Committee; he must again assert that whilst Hales had the ability to fulfil the office, and was ambitious to obtain it, he hadn't the time.

Citizen *Hales* said that it was himself who mentioned Mottershead as an eligible candidate. Citizen Mottershead had asserted that he hadn't the time at his command which would be necessary; all he could say was that he thought he knew quite as much about his own business, as Citizen Mottershead did, and he asserted most positively that not one working man in twenty had as much time, or opportunity of getting time, as he had. He certainly had the inclination to do the work if elected. His capacity had to be tested, but he was quite willing to be taken on his merits. He would stand the vote, but before it was taken he would say that whoever succeeded, it would make no difference to his friendship. He had courage enough to enable him to stand a defeat. He hoped Mottershead had the same.

During the voting, which was then proceeded with, Citizen *Hales* stated that a meeting was to have been held at the "Cock and Castle", Elizabeth St., Hackney Road, on the preceding evening, to consider the position of the Parisian working men, but the police had called upon the landlord, and told him that if he allowed such meetings to be held in his house it would endanger his license.

The votes were scrutinised by Citizen *Engels* and the result was: Hales 5, Mottershead 4, and 1 for Jung who had not been nominated.

Citizen *Hales* said: as he was elected he would do his best to justify the confidence reposed in him, but there was one thing which he should like the Council to consider, and that was the question of reducing the Secretary's salary. He had stated to Jung that he would make a proposition to reduce the salary to 10s. per week. Not that he believed the salary too high, but he thought the Council could not afford to pay more than the sum he had named. When the income of the Council improved the salary could be increased.

Citizen *Jung* must say that it was an understanding on the Committee that the salary should be reduced, and as Hales had suggested it, he would propose "That the Secretary's salary be reduced to 10s. per week". He thought he could consistently make such a proposition as he was the only one who voted against the 15s. when it was carried. He should like to give more, but it must be remembered the income was small, and the Council required money for printing and other matters. He thought too great a proportion of the expenditure was swallowed up in the Secretary's salary.

Citizen *Buttery* thought that Hales might find that the salary was not enough. He thought the matter ought to be left in abeyance for three months until Hales had had an opportunity of testing the work.

Citizen *Hales* did not support the motion because he estimated the work lightly, but because the necessities of the Council demanded it. The salary might be fixed at 10s. provisionally, and then the Council would not be precluded from reconsidering the question.

Citizen *Bradnick* seconded the proposition. He thought 10s. per week as much as the Council could afford.

Citizen *Mottershead* had thought the work might be done for something less, but he had reconsidered the matter, and thought it an unwise policy to underpay an official. If a Secretary was not properly paid, he could not be expected

to do his work properly. The Secretary ought to be able to leave his work, for there was a great deal of work to be done. The Association was not in an early stage. It had an European reputation to sustain. He should vote against the proposition.

Citizen *Engels* moved the following as an amendment believing it would be acceptable to all: "That as Citizen Hales has offered to be satisfied with a salary of 10s. for the present, the Council accept his offer, and that the Secretary's salary be fixed for the next three months at 10s. per week." He thought all the objections which had been raised against 10s. were equally applicable to 15s.

Citizen *Jung* preferred Citizen Engels's proposition as it expressed exactly what he meant. He didn't believe in underpaying, but he remembered the time when a number of members had to pay a sum every week to meet the expenses, and the Council had been without money when it was necessary to have printing done.

Citizen *Mottershead* did not believe it right to reduce the salary, a good Secretary would work up the income; he should vote against the proposition in its amended form.

Citizen *Hales* approved of the proposition as moved by Citizen Engels. He had been in favour of a reduction during the time the late Secretary was in office, and could not accept a salary that, he said, the Council could not afford to pay.

The proposition was then put to the vote and carried with two dissentients.

Citizen *Mottershead* proposed and Citizen *Engels* seconded "That it be an instruction to the late Secretary and to the Finance Secretary to hand over the books and accounts to the new Secretary as early as possible". Carried.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held on Tuesday Evening, May 23rd, 1871*[220]

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lucraft*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Schmutz*, *Townshend*, and *Weston*.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, a letter was read from the English-speaking section of the United States. It gave a glowing account of the progress the Association was making, and said that a mass meeting had been held in New York, sympathising with the Commune of Paris and the miners locked out in Pennsylvania. It also stated that the painters of the States had formed themselves into a secret society and many of the lodges were imbued with the principles of the International.

A letter was also read from the Birmingham Trades Council enclosing a subscription of £1.

Citizen *Marx* explained that he had been ill, and had not been able to finish the address upon which he was engaged, but he hoped to have it ready by Tuesday next. In reference to the struggle in Paris he said he was afraid the end was near but if the Commune was beaten, the struggle would only be deferred. The principles of the Commune were eternal and could not be crushed; they would assert themselves again and again until the working classes were emancipated. The Commune of Paris was being crushed by the aid of the Prussians, they were acting as gendarmes for Thiers. The plot for its destruction was concocted between Bismarck, Thiers, and Favre; Bismarck stated at Frankfort that Thiers and Favre had asked him to interfere. The result showed that he was willing to do anything

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 232-34 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

he could to assist them, short of risking the lives of German soldiers—not that he valued life when there was anything to be got—but he wished to see France sink still lower so that he might be able to exact the more. He had allowed Thiers to have more soldiers than was stipulated in the Convention, and had only allowed food to go into Paris in limited quantities. It was only the old story. The upper classes always united to keep down the working class. In the 11th century there was a war between some French knights and Norman knights, and the peasants rose in insurrection; the knights immediately forgot their differences and coalesced to crush the movement of the peasants. To show how Prussians have been doing police work it might be mentioned that 500 were arrested at Rouen which is occupied by the Prussians—upon the plea that they belonged to the International. The International was feared. In the French Assembly the other day, Count Jaubert—a dried-up mummy, a minister of 1834, a man noted for supporting measures against the press—made a speech in which he said that after order was restored, the first duty of the Government must be to inquire into the working of the International, and put it down.

Citizen *Robin* said that a paper published in London. called the *International*,[221] a paper said to be a French police organ, had an article in one of its issues against the International Working Men's Association, in which it said:

"It is to be hoped some means may be found to sweep the members off the face of Europe. It wished they could be transplanted to another part of the world, where they would be isolated from the rest of mankind, they might then put in practice their peculiar theories."

Citizen *Boon* said it was to be expected that some of our friends would escape, and they would not be able to get into Belgium, he thought the Council ought to [take] some action.

Citizen *Engels* didn't hardly see what could be done as the International was involved in the matter.

Citizen *Marx* said they might depute someone to see Mrs. Plantade and make arrangements.

Citizen *Harris* said they should have to do the same as in 1851.[222] Every member must do what he could.

Citizen *Jung* thought Citizen Truelove might be instructed to send anyone who called to Plantades'.

Citizen *Boon* asked if any news had been received of Serraillier; in the event of any brutality the Council should protest against any cruelty.

Citizen *Marx* said that we might denounce the action taken by the Versailles Government but it would not do to protest: it would be pleading to a Government that, we say, are robbers; the English members of the Council might do something: convoke a public meeting, or appoint a deputation to the Ministry on the subject.

Citizen *Weston* agreed with the policy of the English members taking action. Some good might be done by demanding the intervention of our Government.

Citizen *Engels* thought Thiers's proclamation might serve as a basis for agitation; he promised to be lenient when he thought it would be difficult to subdue the Commune, but when the troops were successful, he promised to treat them with severity.

Citizen *Lucraft* was of an opinion that it would have a great effect if the sympathies of the real workmen could be invoked, but a movement by the pretended leaders, who dabbled in everything, would be worse than useless. He had been ill, and that was the reason he hadn't attended the Council but his sympathies had been with it the whole time and with the Commune. If the trades did not take up this question, they never could be relied on.

Citizen *Boon* thought it would be useless to expect the trades to take the initiative in any political movement.

Citizen *Hales* said he was afraid: so much misrepresentation had been promulgated by the English that it would not be wise to call upon the trades. The workmen were not so decided in their opinions as they ought to be. It would be better to call upon the Democrats.

Citizen *Boon* proposed and Citizen *Lucraft* seconded:

"That the English members of the Council should form themselves into a committee, to see if something could not be done to stay the barbarities of the Versailles Government."[223]

Carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 10.45.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held at 256, High Holborn on Tuesday Evening, May 30th, 1871*

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: *Bradnick*, *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Weston*.

Citizens Lassassie, Nägeli, Mayo and Lochner were also present by permission.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed, and Citizen *Jung* reported that the Congress held in Switzerland had passed resolutions to be sent to the Commune.[224]

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on p. 234 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Marx* then brought up the address he had prepared for the Council on the Paris Commune[225] and read it through.*

At the conclusion Citizen *Weston* proposed and Citizen *Robin* seconded that it be adopted. Carried unanimously without discussion.

Citizen *Boon* proposed that it should be printed in the same type as the two addresses on the war.[226]

Citizen *Harris* seconded, and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* then proposed that 1,000 copies should be issued; Citizen *Lessner* seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

{Citizens Dronkel and Gunning were enrolled as members.}

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

*H. JUNG*

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

*Held on Tuesday Evening, June 6th, 1871*[227]

Members present: *Boon*, *Bradnick*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Mottershead*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Townshend*, and *Weston*.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed and the *Secretary* read a letter received from Mr. Blair of Glasgow asking for information relative to the principles of the Association; an answer had been sent.

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* For the address see pp. 356-416 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 235-37 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Chairman* reported that the congress lately held by the French-speaking Swiss had declared itself *solidaire* with the Paris Commune and that every member had signed the declaration. He had also received a letter from Chemalé*; he had been ill in Tours during the whole time the Commune was in existence, but he disapproved of the conduct of Tolain and had completely broken with him. He still further reported that he had received a letter from Willebrord** who said he was afraid the refugees wouldn't have much chance of escaping through Belgium; the Belgian police were quite prepared to do the work of the French Government. One night the military and police kept marching about the streets trying to provoke a quarrel with the workmen so that the Government might have an excuse to crush out the sympathy which the working men felt for their Paris brothers. If any refugees stayed in Belgium, they would be certain to be arrested. If any of the Communists reached Brussels, they should at once try and get them into Holland. Citizen Jung also announced that Citizen Cadiot, an agent of the Commune, had reached London.

Citizen *Mottershead* hoped some of the men of Paris would reach England safely. No ministry would dare to give up one refugee that sought shelter under English law, but he hoped they would be kept out of the hands of the men into whose hands Flourens fell; they would stick them on a bench in Hyde Park. If the men he alluded to were not spies, they were fools who would run us into danger, [which is] quite as bad.

Citizen *Harris* said if Citizen J. Johnson was alluded to he could answer for him with his life.

Citizen *Mottershead* said the men he alluded to were indiscreet, if they were not guilty of something worse. There

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* In the original the name is spelt "Schmally".—*Ed.*

** The reference is to Glaser de Willebrord.—*Ed.*

was a time for caution as well as a time for pluck; it was the extravagances of Pyat and his school that ruined the Commune in Paris.

Citizen *Marx* said the Council must disclaim all connection with the so-called International Democratic Association as it was started in opposition to the International Working Men's Association which had to bear the responsibilities of acts, absurd as they sometimes were. Another thing to which he wished to call the attention of the Council was the infamous lies circulated about the Commune by the English press. They were lies fabricated by the French and Prussian police. They were afraid lest the truth should be known. It was asserted that Millière was one of the most furious members of the Commune. Now it was a fact that he never was a member of the Commune, but as he had been a deputy for Paris it was necessary to have an excuse for shooting him. The English press acted as police and bloodhounds for Thiers. Slanders against the Commune and against the International were invented to serve his bloody policy. The press knew full well the objects and principles of the International. It had given reports of the prosecutions against it in Paris under the Empire. It had had representatives at the various Congresses held by the Association, and had reported their proceedings, and yet it circulated reports to the effect that the Association included the Fenian Brotherhood, the *Carbonari* (ceased to exist 1830), the Marianne (ditto 1854), and other secret societies,[228] and asked if Colonel Henderson knew of the whereabouts of the General Council which was said to sit in London. These things were simply invented to justify any action taken against the International. The upper classes were afraid of the principles of the International.

He wished also to call attention to the fact that Mazzini had written in the *Contemporary Review*[229] denouncing the Commune. It was not so well known as it ought to be, but Mazzini had always been opposed to the workmen's move-

ments. He denounced the insurgents of June 1848 when Louis Blanc, who then had more courage than he has now, answered him.

When Pierre Leroux—who had a large family—obtained employment in London Mazzini was the man to denounce him. The fact was, Mazzini with his old-fashioned Republicanism knew nothing and accomplished nothing. In Italy he had created a military despotism by his cry for Nationality. With him the State—which was an imaginary thing—was everything, and Society—which was a reality—was nothing. The sooner the people repudiated such men the better.

Citizen *Harris* said the International Democratic Association was not started in opposition to any movement; he was at its formation and knew the facts.

Citizen *Boon* explained how he became acquainted with the democratic movement; he had been connected with the Association challenged, but he didn't know much about it. He hoped the matter under discussion would be thoroughly sifted, so that if there were any spies they might be known.

Citizen *Bradnick* said someone had sent a hostile report to the *Standard* of the meeting held under the auspices of the Council. He believed someone acted as a spy.

Citizen *Mottershead* said that only three men of that meeting were capable of reporting; they were Hales, Boon, and Johnson.

Citizen *Weston* could add his testimony that the International Democratic Association was not started in opposition to any other association.

Citizen *Jung* said Mazzini tried to start an International Republican League, but did not succeed. Dupont then started the French branch, but it contained discordant elements.[230] Vésinier opened up correspondence with Brussels, and boasted that the General Council would soon be destroyed. Finlen said that the International Working Men's Association was not advanced enough, and for that reason

the International Democratic Association was started by the express order of Pyat, and Weber with some Germans, who had been expelled from the German Society,* also joined them.

Citizens *Harris*, *Boon*, and *Weston* said that the Association they had been discussing could not be the same.

Citizen *Hales* said it was the same, he recollected all the circumstances very well. Finlen and Weber organised it, assisted and encouraged by Pyat, and then Johnson appeared and he had been connected with [it] ever since more or less. It was true the Association named had several times appeared to die out, but then it was galvanised into life again, with the same parties attached to it.

It being late, Citizen *Bradnick* suggested that a subscription should be made to assist Citizen Cadiot.

Citizen *Mottershead* said it would be better to deal with that and similar cases by voting something out of the funds of the Association; he would propose that £5 be placed in the hands of Citizen Jung to assist such refugees as might need it; he could place full reliance in Jung's discretion.

Citizen *Eccarius* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11.15.**

Citizen *Weston* complained of the omission of the following and moved that it be inserted as he wished Citizen Mottershead to retract or substantiate his charges. In the course of the debate, Citizen Mottershead said that Citizen Weston had given countenance and support to parties on various occasions whose action was inimical to the principles and objects of the International, and not only so, but he supported principles at one time that he had opposed at others, both on social and political subjects.

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* This refers to the German Workers' Educational Association.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned. The next paragraph was inserted later.—*Ed.*

## *MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL**

*Held on Tuesday Evening, June 13th, 1871*[231]

Members present: *Boon*, *Cohn*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Mottershead*, *Robin*, *Stepney*, *Townshend* and *Weston*, Citizen *Mottershead* being voted to the chair.

On the *Secretary*** reading the Minutes of the previous meeting, Citizen *Weston* complained of the omission of some remarks, respecting himself, which had been made by Citizen Mottershead, and in so doing proceeded to criticise Mottershead's career.

The *Secretary* rose to order; he didn't think a discussion could take place upon the question of confirming the Minutes.

Citizen *Mottershead* said that Citizen Weston was clearly out of order, but he did not interrupt him, as it concerned himself; under the circumstances he would vacate the chair, then he could speak. Saying which he left the chair.

Citizen *Marx* was then elected Chairman, and the business proceeded.

Citizen *Mottershead* said he wished to impute nothing against Weston's honesty, he gave him every credit for good intentions, but he sometimes had made mistakes: he had supported men who didn't deserve support, and had advocated different doctrines at different times; he gave this as explanation; he didn't impugn Weston's honesty, but he did question his discretion.

Citizen *Weston* then moved "That the words omitted be inserted", which was agreed to.

Citizen *Harris* also complained of an omission, which was rectified.

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 238-41 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Hales.—*Ed.*

The Minutes were then confirmed.

Citizen *Engels* then gave a report of a meeting of the Sub-Committee which had been held on June 11th at 122, Regent's Park Road* to consider the circular issued by Jules Favre on the International. Citizens Marx, Engels, Hales, Eccarius and Weston were present and the following letter was agreed to and ordered to be sent to all the daily papers. It had been sent, but only the *Times*[232] had inserted it. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had given extracts from it. He read the letter which was as follows**:

THE INTERNATIONAL

To the Editor of the *Times*

Sir,— On June 6, 1871, M. Jules Favre issued a circular to all the European powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International Working Men's Association. A few remarks will suffice to characterise that document.

In the very preamble of our Statutes it is stated that the International was founded "September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London". For purposes of his own Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin behind 1862.

In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote "their (the International's) sheet of the 25th of March, 1869". And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society which is not the International. This sort of manoeuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet. Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his

* See p. 313 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Further comes a newspaper clipping from *The Times*, June 13, 1871.—*Ed.*

own—a trick exposed while the Court was sitting, and which, but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have been punished by Jules Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International, not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance:

"The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July 1869."

The General Council never issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document which quashed the original statutes of the "Alliance"—L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre.

Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire.

It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war, the General Council of the International denounced the Prussian plans of conquest against France. Later on, Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favour of the Government of National Defence; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London were made—certainly with the best of intentions—in spite of the General Council, which, in its address of the 9th of September, had distinctly forewarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues.

What would Jules Favre say if, in its turn, the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the cabinets of Europe, drawing their particular attention to

the documents published at Paris by the late M. Millière[233]?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*JOHN HALES*,

Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's
Association

London, June 12th, 1871*

The report of the Sub-Committee was unanimously adopted.

Citizen *Marx* suggested that the Council should issue a circular to the European Courts on Jules Favre as intimated in the foregoing letter. It was a fact that Favre wanted to escape from his office of Foreign Secretary, and there was a rumour that he was to be appointed President of the Court of Cassation, but he [Marx] thought the letter to the *Times* had prevented that. It was a duty owing to the men of Paris to hunt that man down.

Citizen *Harris* proposed and Citizen *Weston* seconded "That a circular be sent to all the European Courts calling their particular attention to the documents relating to Jules Favre, which had been published in Paris by the late M. Millière". Carried unanimously.

The address on the Civil War in France was brought up and unanimously ordered to be issued.

Citizen *Marx* announced that himself and Citizen Engels had advertised the address at their own expense; the price to be sixpence.

Citizen *Harris* suggested that it should be sent to all members of Parliament.

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* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Engels* opposed that, thought it would be throwing away money; he thought that 500 of the members never read anything. They certainly didn't read their own Blue Books which they got for nothing, they were in the habit of using them for targets for pistol practice.

It was agreed that it should be sent to leading members of both parties in the House of Commons.

Citizen *Jung* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded "That 2 copies be sent to all associations of working men and 20 each to Birmingham and Manchester Trades Councils".

It was further proposed and embodied with the foregoing that members of working men's associations should have the addresses at 3d. each by applying to the Council. Carried.

Citizen *Jung* proposed and Citizen *Townshend* seconded that each member of the Council be allowed 6 copies for distribution.

Citizen *Mottershead* suggested that it should be sent to the advanced liberal newspapers.

Citizen *Engels* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that the Sub-Committee be empowered to print another thousand if it should be thought necessary. Carried.

Citizen *Cohn* then gave in a report of the cigar-makers' lock-out in Belgium. The London cigar-makers had sent over some delegates, who stayed there 15 days and thoroughly investigated the state of affairs. The masters had obtained 30 men from Holland, but everyone had been sent back again. They had also obtained 25 girls from Metz and Strasbourg, but sixteen of them had also left, so that after seven weeks the masters had only obtained 9 hands. Not one of the men locked out had offered to go in, and the masters were as near beaten as could be. When the affair began the masters wouldn't recognise the Trade Society at all. Now they were willing to do that and to give a rise of wages, besides abolishing payment for gas and other inci-

dental charges. They had also agreed to employ tobacco strippers for the men, and it was to be optional on the part of the men whether they should have boys to do the bundling or not. There were one or two points still unsettled, but there was not the slightest doubt the men would get everything they asked for, for they were well supported. The cigar-makers of Hamburg had warmly espoused the cause and found work for 30 of the men locked out. The following sums had already been sent to Belgium from England:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| London Cigar-Makers | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto another society | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Tobacco Strippers | 2 | " | " |
| Dutch Cigar-Makers | 15 | " | " |
| Ditto | 5 | " | " |
| Bundlers | 10 | " | " |
| Tobacco Cutters | 5 | " | " |
| Compositors | 15 | " | " |
| Gilders | 1 | " | " |
| Painters | 3 | " | " |
| Brush-Makers | 5 | " | " |
| Basket-Makers | 10 | " | " |
| Tin-Plate Workers | 10 | " | " |
| Coopers | 10 | " | " |
| Belgian Cigar-Makers in London | 31 | " | " |
| | £415* | " | " |

In addition to this a levy had been put on in one society to aid them, and if the struggle was continued, assistance would be still further rendered. The Executive of the London Cigar-Makers intended to ask for powers at their next meeting to enable them to send over any sums they might deem fit.

The *Secretary* read a letter from Citizen Blair of Glasgow, who had joined the Association.

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* Probably a slip of the pen; should be £397.—*Ed.*

The Council then took into consideration the cases of Citizens Cadiot and Baudry, two refugees from Paris. Cadiot who had been in London over a week, and had already received £2 15s., asked in a letter for a sum weekly that would enable him to live in a respectable position; he also asked that his jewels, which he had been obliged to pledge, might be restored to him; he thought the Council ought to maintain him in as a good position as he was in before he joined the movement.

Citizen Baudry simply asked the Council to render him some little assistance until he got work; he had fought for the Commune, and escaping from Paris had walked by night to the coast, he then took the first vessel that was going to sail and that landed him at Cardiff in Wales; he had walked from thence to London and was quite destitute. The Council agreed to vote them a pound each, with 15s. additional to Baudry to relieve his immediate necessities.

Citizen *Jung* had received a letter from Applegarth informing him that the joiners were on strike at Newcastle for the nine hours' movement[234] and that the masters had already brought over some men from Belgium and were trying to get more. He had at once written to Brismée informing him of the state of affairs, and asked him to do all he could to prevent men from coming over.

Citizen *Engels* had received a letter from Spain. A Co-operative Society in Barcelona wished to have some samples of paper for hanging on walls from England, with prices.

Citizens Elliott and Blair were enrolled members of the Association.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held on Tuesday Evening, June 20th, 1871*[235]

Members present: *Boon*, *Bradnick*, *Buttery*, *Cohn*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Lucraft*, *Marx*, *Mottershead*, *Odger*, *Pfänder*, *Robin*, *Townshend* and *Weston*.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Citizens Roach and Taylor were enrolled members of the Association.

The Minutes of the preceeding meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen *Engels* asked that the reading of the correspondence might be postponed so that the Council could proceed at once to the urgent business.

The *Chairman* decided such should be done.

And Citizen *Engels* called attention to a letter which had appeared in the *Daily News* signed George Jacob Holyoake, and read a draft of a letter which he proposed should be sent in reply.[236] He thought it was necessary to show clearly who wrote the address.

Citizen *Harris* seconded. He thought it impertinent on the part of Mr. Holyoake to criticise the address. He was only a literary cat's-meat man.

Citizen *Mottershead* approved of the letter, but he should have liked to have given Holyoake a rub about his own revolutionary utterances.

Citizen *Boon* also approved of the answer; he agreed with a previous speaker that the letter was an impertinence.

Citizen *Odger* gave an explanation. Holyoake had asked him about the address and he told him he hadn't seen it; it was simply a matter of fact. He thought an address of that character ought not to be issued without it having been submitted to everyone whose signature was to be attached.

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 242-45 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Jung* said that would be an impossibility. Was it to be sent before the Council had considered [it] or after? If before, it might be altered, if after, it would again want revising.

Citizen *Marx* said the Council had sent specially to Citizen Odger to ask him if his name was to be appended and he said, "yes". As for sending proofs, that would be impossible, the standing orders could not be suspended for one man, Odger knew what they were. If he had attended the Council he would have heard the address. It was a pity Odger's name was appended.

Citizen *Boon* thought it was the fault of Odger himself, he should have attended to his duties, like the rest of the members.

Citizen *Odger* said he wouldn't be dictated to. If the satellites of Dr. Marx liked they could, but he wouldn't.

Citizen *Buttery* protested against such language, he was no more a satellite of Dr. Marx than he had been of Citizen Odger, or ever intended to be.

Citizens *Boon* and *Bradnick* also protested against the expressions of Citizen Odger.

Citizen *Lucraft* asked who was responsible for the omission of certain members' names.

The *Secretary** said no names had been omitted to his knowledge except that of Applegarth, who had expressed a wish to sever his connection with the Council.

Citizen *Lucraft* said the Council ought to have informed the members when the address was to have been discussed; there was a great deal in it he objected to. The International defended ruffians who had done deeds that he abhorred, ruffians that did not belong to the International; he would not sanction murder and arson. He wanted to know from the Secretary by what authority he had printed members' names as having signed the address when they

* Hales.—*Ed.*

had not seen it. The Secretary was either a tool in somebody's hands or he deserved censure.

The *Secretary* remarked that Citizen Lucraft's observations proved that he had never read the address he was condemning; and he handed him a copy, pointing out the fact that the members' names were not printed as having signed it. He was astonished at Citizen Lucraft's inconsistency: he was the strongest advocate on the Council for appending all names to the documents and had advocated the same policy on other occasions and in other places—and now he came and complained of it.

Citizen *Lucraft* apologised to the Secretary, he had made a mistake, but the fact was he had not read the address—he had gathered his impressions from the newspapers, but not agreeing with the address he must ask that his name be taken off the books.

Citizen *Odger* said he had not come to resign, but seeing that there was no reason on the Council, he would also have his name taken off.

Citizen *Mottershead* regretted that the affair had happened; so far as Odger was concerned he looked upon him as the leading working man of the London [workers], and he desired to retain him in the Council. With respect to Lucraft he must say he was surprised; of all men living, he least expected him to find fault with the address as being too violent. Why, he had used far stronger language in his time than was contained in the address; he supposed that sitting in Guildhall rubbing sleeves with a Lord has caused him to change[237]; if such was the case, all he could say was, that he wished he was in Parliament so that the workmen could be rid of him altogether.

Citizens Lucraft and Odger then left the room and the proposition was put to the vote and carried unanimously. The following is the letter agreed upon*:

* Here a clipping from *The Daily News*, June 23, 1871, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

## MR. HOLYOAKE AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

### To the Editor of the *Daily News*

Sir,—I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to state, in reply to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake's letter in Tuesday's *Daily News*:

1. As to the insinuation that the address issued by the Council "may become a cause of death or deportation at Versailles", the Council thinks that its Paris friends are better judges than Mr. Holyoake.

2. It is a rule with the Council that the names of all its members, whether absent or present, are appended to all its public documents.

3. As to the statement that the address "cannot be an English production, though manifestly revised by some Saxon or Celtic pen", the Council begs to observe that, as a matter of course, the productions of an international society cannot have any specific national character. However, the Council need not have any secrets in this matter. The address, like many previous publications of the Council, was drawn up by the Corresponding Secretary for Germany, Dr. Karl Marx, was adopted unanimously, and revised by nobody.

4. In the course of last year Mr. George Jacob Holyoake presented himself as a candidate for membership at the Council, but was not admitted.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*JOHN HALES*,
Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's
Association

256, High Holborn, W.C., June 21*

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Marx* then proposed that a letter should be sent to the *Examiner* and *Spectator* denouncing the pretended manifestoes of the Paris section of the International; they were all forgeries of the Versailles police.[238]

Citizen *Boon* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Mottershead* said that he had an appointment with an editor of a first-class weekly (high priced) paper, who wished for data from which to write in favour of the International.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Cohn* seconded that Mottershead and Engels wait upon the editor mentioned. Carried unanimously.

The Council then proceeded to discuss the question of aiding the refugees, Citizen *Marx* having previously handed in £6 in their aid.

Citizen *Cadiot* complained of having to come weekly before the Council; he thought the Council ought to do more for him.

Citizen *Baudry* said he came to thank the Council for the generosity it had shown him, and to say that he thought of leaving London to search for work; he introduced two Italian citizens who had fought for the Commune.

After a little discussion it was agreed to give the newcomers (four) £1 and Cadiot and Baudry 15s. each.

Citizen *Cohn* announced that the London cigar-makers had subscribed another £100 in aid of the Belgian lock-out; a society in Liverpool had also voted £10, and the elastic web-weavers of Leicester £5.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Engels* seconded "That Citizen Mac Donnell become a member of the Council".

Citizen *Mottershead* proposed and Citizen *Weston* seconded "That Citizen Taylor become a member of the Council".

Citizen *Bradnick* proposed and Citizen *Hales* seconded "That Citizen Roach become a member of the Council".

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

*JOHN WESTON*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held on Tuesday Evening, June 27th, 1871*[239]
*at 256, High Holborn, W.C.*

Members present: Citizens *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Mottershead*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Rühl*, *Taylor*, *Townshend*, and *Weston*.

Citizen *Weston* in the chair.

Citizens Richard and Briner were enrolled members of the Association.

Citizen *Engels* proposed that the Sub-Committee be instructed to take charge of the duty of investigating the claims of the refugees and relieving them, and for that purpose they meet at the Council rooms on Saturday evening; too much time was taken.

Citizen *Jung* seconded the proposition. He thought the Council was not a proper place to inquire into matters of that description. No one ought to come into the Council unless he was known.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* then proposed "That the election of candidates for the Council be proceeded with". Certain names would have to be omitted from the second edition of the address, and it would be well to have those of new members in their place—if elected.

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 246-48 of the Minute Book. *Ed.*

Citizen *Engels* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizens A. Taylor and John Roach were elected. The election of Citizen Mac Donnell was postponed.

Citizen *Engels* then called attention to two letters which appeared in the *Daily News* from B. Lucraft and G. J. Holyoake, and moved that a reply be sent. He thought Lucraft had acted cowardly in the matter, after admitting, as he had, that he had not read the address.

Citizen *Boon* seconded the proposition. It was advisable to expose the jesuitry of such men.

Citizen *Mottershead* said Holyoake wanted to wriggle out of an unpleasant position. It was well known that he came to join the Council and wished to attend the Congress, he remembered it well. Holyoake wished to join the Council—to make profit matter for the press. He was glad to say that he had helped to foil him. With respect to Lucraft he was not surprised, as he never was a responsible man, he was always flighty; but Odger—he was astonished at; it appeared from the *Telegraph* that he had repudiated the Council as well as Lucraft, he would move that their resignations be accepted.

Citizen *Harris* seconded the proposition. Odger had been round to the papers playing the part of the literary dustman. It was time the people were rid of the so-called leaders.

Citizen *Townshend* hoped the resolution would be carried; he had heard Odger attack the International.

Citizen *Marx* said Odger had acted in a cowardly fashion; he was too wily to do as Lucraft had done, he had gone about in an underhand manner thinking to please the middle class without offending the working class.

Both resolutions were carried unanimously and the following letter was drawn up and ordered to be sent.*

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* Here a clipping from *The Daily News*, June 29, 1871, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

## THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

### To the Editor of the *Daily News*[240]

Sir.—I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to reply to the letters of Messrs. G. J. Holyoake and B. Lucraft, which appeared in your issue of Monday last. I find, on referring to the Minutes of the Council, that Mr. Holyoake attended a meeting of the Council, by permission, on the 16th of November, 1869, and during the sitting expressed his desire to become a member of the Council, and to attend the next General Congress of the International, to be held in Paris, September, 1870. After he had retired, Mr. John Weston proposed him as a candidate for membership, but the proposition was received in such a manner that Mr. Weston did not insist, but withdrew it. With regard to Mr. Lucraft's statement that he was not present when the address was voted upon, I may say that Mr. Lucraft was present at a meeting of the Council held on the 23rd of May, 1871, when it was officially announced that the draft of the address on the *Civil War in France* would be read and discussed at the next ordinary meeting of the Council, May the 30th. It was therefore left entirely to Mr. Lucraft to decide whether he would be present or absent upon that occasion, and not only did he know that it was the rule of the Council to append the names of all its members, present or absent, to its public documents, but he was one of the most strenuous supporters of that rule, and resisted on several occasions attempts made to dispense with it—on May 23, among others—and he then voluntarily informed the Council that "his entire sympathy was with the Commune of Paris". On Tuesday evening, June 20, at a meeting of the Council, Mr. Lucraft was forced to admit that he had not even then read the address itself, but that all his impressions about it were derived from the statements of the press. With respect to Mr. Odger's repudiation, all

I can say is that he was waited upon personally and informed that the Council was about to issue an address, and was asked if he objected to his name appearing in connection with it, and he said "No". The public can draw its own conclusions. I may add that the resignations of Messrs. Lucraft and Odger have been accepted by the Council unanimously.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*JOHN HALES,*

Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's
Association

256, High Holborn, W.C.*

Citizen *Marx* then called attention to the fact that he had sent a letter to the *Daily News* which had been mutilated by the editor. It showed that the English press was as vile as that on the Continent. He then handed it to the Secretary to be sent to the *Eastern Post*.[241] The following is the letter**:

Sir,—A Council consisting of more than thirty members cannot, of course, draw up its own documents. It must entrust that task to some one or other of its members, reserving to itself the right of rejecting or amending. The address on the *Civil War in France,* drawn up by myself, was unanimously adopted by the General Council of the International, and is therefore the official embodiment of its own views. With regard, however, to the personal charges brought forward against Jules Favre and Co., the case stands otherwise. On this point the great majority of the Council had to rely upon my trustworthiness. This was

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** Then comes a clipping from *The Eastern Post* No. 144, July 1, 1871.—*Ed.*

Just Published, Price Twopence.

(THIS OUGHT TO BE READ BY EVERY BRITISH WORKMAN).

THE

# CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

## ADDRESS

OF

## THE GENERAL COUNCIL

OF THE

## INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

Printed and Published for the Council by

EDWARD TRUELOVE, 256, HIGH HOLBORN.

1871.

SOLD HERE.

Announcement of the second edition of *The Civil War in France*

the very reason why I supported the motion of another member of the Council* that Mr. John Hales, in his answer to Mr. Holyoake, should name me as the author of the address.** I hold myself alone responsible for those charges, and hereby challenge Jules Favre and Co. to prosecute me for libel. In his letter Mr. Llewellyn Davies says,

"It is melancholy to read the charges of personal business so freely flung by Frenchmen at one another."

Does this sentence not somewhat smack of that pharisaical self-righteousness with which William Cobbett had so often taunted the British mind? Let me ask Mr. Llewellyn Davies which was worse, the French *petite presse*, fabricating in the service of the police the most infamous slanders against the Communards, dead, captive, or hidden, or the English press, reproducing them to this day, despite its professed contempt for the *petite presse*. I do not consider it a French inferiority that such serious charges for instance as those brought forward against the late Lord Palmerston,[242] during a quarter of a century, by a man like Mr. David Urquhart, could have been burked in England but not in France.***

Citizen *Weston* proposed and Citizen *Boon* seconded that Citizen Richard become a member of the Council.

Citizen *Marx* then announced the fact that the first edition of the address was exhausted and proposed that a second of 2,000 be issued at the reduced price of 2d., and that handbills, announcing the same, be printed[243]; it was necessary now to circulate the address as widely as possible among the working class. He also wished to add that it was proposed to add, as a note to the address, the letter on Jules Favre's circular printed in the *Times*.

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* Engels.—*Ed.*

** See p. 421 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Engels* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

A short discussion took place upon the financial position and it was decided to start a refugee fund.

Citizen *Marx* handed in another £4 in aid of it and Citizen *Jung* £2 from Citizen Lavrov.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held July 4th, 1871*[244]

Members present: *Boon*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Roach*, *Serraillier*, *Townshend* and *Weston*.

Citizens D'Albêca, Tibaldi, De Wolfers, Rovart, Rozalowski, De Baufort, Légé, Dagbert, Lèblanc, Lavrov, Scherzer and Genin were also present at the sitting.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The *Secretary*** announced that he had written to several gentlemen of position asking for contributions to the refugee fund. He had received £5 from P. A. Taylor, M.P., and £5 from Sir Charles W. Dilke, M.P. He also read correspondence from Ryde, Windsor, Manchester, Worcester, Sunderland and Dumbarton.

Citizen *Hales* proposed and Citizen *Weston* seconded that Citizen Elliott become a member of the Council.

Citizen *Marx* then said that as the election of Citizen Mac Donnell was first upon the order of the sitting he would say a few words.[245] He had made inquiries relative to the

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 249-52 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Hales.—*Ed.*

allegations that were rumoured about Mac Donnell, and he had found nothing whatever to his discredit. From 1862 to 1868 he had worked very hard in Ireland and had suffered 10 months' imprisonment in consequence. The Irish newspapers spoke very highly of him. He had been charged with offering to sell the Irish vote at the last election in Southwark, but the fact was the Irish wished him to come forward as a candidate himself, but he declined and recommended the Irish to vote for Odger. He was also charged with not acting quite right in the ambulance affair,[246] but it was a movement to get Irishmen to join the French Army so that they might become trained to the use of arms. He thought his conduct was more praiseworthy than otherwise, and he had much pleasure in again proposing that he be elected a member of the Council.

Citizen *Engels* said he had as much pleasure in again seconding the proposition; on being put to the vote, it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* then read a letter from Cafiero.[247] On arriving at Florence he [had] put himself in communication with the Workmen's Societies. He found one of them already an International one. From Florence he had gone on to the South of Italy, and intended to go on to Naples. He wished to know what kind of men the Neapolitan members were. From the spirit exhibited, he had great hopes that it would be possible to hold an Italian Working Men's Congress in the ensuing autumn. The Mazzini Party is losing ground fast, though Mazzini himself is trying hard to keep up its vitality by inveighing in the columns of his journal* against the "Atheists and Materialists" whom he accuses of being the authors of the ruins of Paris. The poor old man cannot see that his idea of National Unity—great in its time—is a bygone thing and is vanishing like the light of a candle before the light of the Sun, and will be

* *Roma del Popolo.—Ed.*

eclipsed by the grand idea of the Unity of Peoples and the Liberation of Labour from the thraldom of Capital.

Citizen *Marx* read a letter from the Central Committee of the Association for the United States.[248] Some of the miners in Pennsylvania were still on strike, but those in work were dividing their wages with those out. The painters and plasterers had organised themselves upon the model of the Crispins—as the shoemakers call themselves. The Typographical Union had just held a congress at Baltimore, and a great strike of coloured labourers had taken place at Washington, which was defeated by the stepping in of White labourers. The Democratic Party leaders were fast taking up the most important points of the programme of the National Labour Union, but it was felt that there were elements enough to organise a Labour Party with a labour platform, and such was almost certain to be done. The North-American Central Committee now represents 10 sections, and new sections are being started every week. Two have just been started at San Francisco and St. Louis. It is intended to hold a general meeting of members resident in New York to express their views on the June Insurrection of [18]48 and the struggle of [18]71 and address had been issued to all the Working Men's Societies and Trades Unions throughout the States asking them to join the International.

Citizen *Marx* said Mr. Robert Reid, late correspondent of the *Telegraph* in Paris, who had been a resident in Paris 16 years, was about to travel through England to lecture on the "Commune of Paris",[249] and from conversation he had had with him he was sure he would act in the interest of the International. He therefore would propose that Mr. Reid be entrusted with 500 copies of the address* for sale and that he be allowed 35 per cent commission.

Citizen *Engels* seconded the proposition; he was sure

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* *The Civil War in France.—Ed.*

Reid would do good work; he [Reid] had given them some interesting statements which proved the villainous part acted by the press of this country towards the Commune. The *Telegraph* had suppressed parts of his letters and telegrams he had sent because they gave truthful facts favourable to the Commune.

Citizen *Harris* supported the proposition; it was necessary to let the people know the truth; men like Wolff were doing all they could to injure the memory of the Commune.

Citizen *Weston* quite agreed with the necessity of giving publicity to the address, and he did not know of a better way than by carrying out the proposition.

The proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* said he wished to call attention to the matter alluded to by Citizen Harris, viz., the conduct of Major Wolff, Ex-Secretary of Mazzini. On the 16th of March last he attended a meeting of the Federal Committee sitting in Paris, and said he was connected with the General Council, but it was too inactive, the International was not revolutionary enough; and yet this was the man that had denounced the Commune. Citizen Tibaldi however would speak on another matter that had come under his cognisance.

Citizen *Tibaldi* then spoke a few words in French, and handed in the following statement, which was then read and afterwards handed over to the Secretary for insertion in the *Eastern Post*.*

"Citizen Tibaldi said he was in London when the revolution of the 4th of September took place, but he received a telegram from Gambetta and left for Paris at once. On arriving, the 'Government of National Defence' gave him the command of a legion. On the 28th of October he called

* Then comes a clipping from *The Eastern Post* No. 145, July 8, 1871.—*Ed.*

at the Finance Office accompanied by Mr. Biff, captain adjutant-major, and the latter called his attention and pointed out some entries in the book of the Secret Police (*Livre des Fonds secrets*), which was in that office for examination. In these entries Mr. Wolff's name appeared several times with the annotation (*correspondant de Lagrange, Secrétaire de Mazzini*), and it was ascertained from the same book that Mr. L. Wolff received a monthly stipend of 1,000 francs, and each sum was accompanied by the signature of the *Payce*. On the 31st of the same month he (Tibaldi) was visited by the chief secretary of Mons. Edmond Adam, then prefect of police, who communicated several authentic documents fully establishing the fact of Wolff being a spy, and added that they were then looking for the said L. Wolff, as there was a strong suspicion of his having turned spy to the Prussians, since M. Pietri did not pay any longer his allowance, but it appeared that he managed to keep out of the way, and escaped the consequences of an investigation. In February of the present year Wolff had called upon him but he forbade him ever to enter his house making allusion to his shameful profession, when he did not attempt to justify himself but grew pale. Gustave Flourens was also warned to hold no intercourse with him and would not."*

Citizen *Serraillier* could corroborate what Citizen Tibaldi had said about Wolff being a spy, he had seen the book mentioned and had seen the entries—during the time he was a member of the Commune. There could not be any mistake in the matter—Wolff's pay was, as stated by Citizen Tibaldi, 1,000 francs or £40 per month, the highest sum paid to spies.

Citizen *Jung* said Citizen Savio had told him that he also had seen the same book, and the entries mentioned.

Citizen *Marx* then said that after he had written to the

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

*Pall Mall Gazette*, accepting the responsibility of the articles, they had still called them libels, he therefore had written to the editor calling him a libeller, provoked by which the editor had printed the charges in full.[250]

Citizen *Engels* said in consequence of the matter spoken of he had resigned his connection with the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

Citizen *Harris* proposed that Applegarth be written to and asked if he considered himself a member of the Council.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*July 11th, 1871*

Members present: *Bradnick*, *Buttery*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Jung*, *Kolb*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Mac Donnell*, *Robin*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Taylor*, *Townshend*, and *Weston*.

Citizens Barry, Belliston, Carrot, Dagbert, De Baufort, Gaujean, Guichar, Greffe, Hurliman, Lochner, Leblanc, Légé, Lavrov, Otterbein, Périchon, Plantade, Rovart, Rochat, and De Wolfers were also present during the sitting.

Charles Wade was introduced by the *Secretary*,** but Citizen *Harris* objected to his being present during the sitting, so he retired.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed and Dr. *Marx* requested that the reading of the correspondence might be deferred, in order that the Council might proceed to important business.

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 252-54 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Hales.—*Ed.*

This was agreed to and Dr. *Marx* said Mr. Lumley, agent to the lawyer* who was to defend Assi, was in the room, and he desired answers to certain questions which had been addressed to the Council by letter. The letter stated that a letter purporting to be written by Dr. Marx—in which Assi was denounced as a spy—had gone the round of the press in Paris, and as the police were using it against Assi, the writer desired to know if it was genuine or not. The letter furthermore said that though Assi was confined in a cell, he had received a letter in cypher from Worthing, which contained a lot of nonsense about the burning of principal towns in France and England, and it asked: did the International ever use cypher in its correspondence? Citizen Marx said both of the documents in question were forgeries of the French police, and were part of a series of forgeries of the same character. The International had no necessity to have recourse to cypher.[251] He had seen Serraillier on the matter and it was thought advisable that two statements should be sent, one written by himself and the other by Serraillier; they had been drawn up. He then read the proposed statements, and upon the motion of Citizen *Harris,* seconded by Citizen *Engels*, they were adopted unanimously, signed by Citizens Marx and Serraillier, stamped with the official stamp of the Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

Citizen *Buttery* reported that the Bethnal Green branch of the International was actively at work; it had passed a resolution approving of the efforts of the Irish to obtain Home Rule. The Irish had the right of self-government, and it was the duty of Englishmen to assist them in their struggles to obtain it.

Citizen *Jung* announced that a new branch of the International to be called the "Excelsior branch"[252] was to be opened on the next evening at 197, City Road, and he thought it would be an energetic one.

* Bigot.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* reported that a meeting of the Sub-Committee had been held on Friday evening, July 7th, to take into consideration the conduct of Mr. Washburne—American Minister in Paris—during the siege of the Commune by the Versailles troops. An address to the Central Committee of the International, U.S., embodying two statements had been agreed upon and would be laid before the Council.

Citizen *Marx* then proceeded to read the address,* remarking that the statements could not be altered, as the two citizens** who made them were responsible for them and were ready to support them by affidavit, if necessary.[253]

Citizen *Buttery* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that the address be accepted with the report of the Sub-Committee. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* called attention to the fact that the *Morning Advertiser* had copied from the *Paris-Journal* a letter that was forged in his name and had inserted an article upon it, on the assumption that it was genuine. He thought he should send a letter disclaiming it, it would then be proved that the letter in question was a forgery.[254]

He also reported that Mr. Rutson, private secretary to Mr. Bruce, the Home Minister, had written to him asking for copies of all documents issued by the International,[255] and he had sent them.

Citizen *Robin* gave notice of motion "That the Council take into consideration the disputes existing in the Swiss section".

Citizen *Engels* gave notice of motion "That the Council consider the advisability of holding a Conference preparatory to the holding of a Congress".

Citizen *Marx* proposed that the standing order of the Council relating to the election of candidates should be postponed, so that Citizen Rochat might be elected at once,

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* See pp. 426-30 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Reid and Serraillier.—*Ed.*

he was a refugee and had been a member of the Paris Central Committee.

Citizen *Lessner* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* then proposed that Citizen Rochat be elected a member of the Council.

Citizen *Harris* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

The election of Citizen Richard which stood in order upon the agenda was postponed, to enable further inquiries to be made as to his antecedents.

Citizens Mills, Bennett, Foster, and Belliston were enrolled members of the Association.

Citizen *Harris* proposed and Citizen *Townshend* seconded "That Citizen Charles Mills become a member of the Council".

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that Citizen Lochner become a member of the Council.

Citizen Hurliman was accepted as the delegate of the Swiss Society of London.

Citizen *Marx* announced that the working men of Mayence had held a large meeting and had adopted unanimously, as their own, the address of the Council on the *Civil War in France*.

*GEO E. HARRIS*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*July 18th, 1871*[256]

Citizen *Harris* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Boon*, *Bradnick*, *Buttery*, *Cohn*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Hurliman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*,

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 255-59 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*Marx*, *Mottershead*, *Robin*, *Rochat*, *Serraillier*, *Townshend*, and *Weston*.

The following citizens were also present as visitors: De Baufort, Dercure, Dismans, Delahaye, Herman, Kern, Lavrov, Leblanc, Légé, Lochner, Martin, Mayo, Mooney, Pape, Plantade, Péchard, Rosenburg, Rovart, Stainsby, Tibaldi, Vandervelde, Wheatley, and Wolfers.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, the Council proceeded to the election of candidates. Citizen Richard being the first, Citizen *Marx* said: Citizen Richard attended the meeting of the Sub-Committee, and proved that he did his duty as a National Guard, during the siege of Paris, but that was all, he had not been in the movement, and the Continental members and the refugees were opposed to his election.

Citizen *Mottershead* said that the Continentals were the best judges as to the fitness of a Continental to become a member; believing this and accepting the report, he felt bound to vote against Richard.

Citizen *Hales* said the only disqualification, if it could be so called, of Citizen Richard was the short time he had been connected with the movement; he avowed that he was not a politician before the siege, but that brought him out, and during its continuance he took an active part, and he stated that his principles were with the International. Some of the members of the Sub-Committee thought that was not sufficient to obtain him a seat on the Council, while there were so many friends who had been in the movement for a long time.

Citizen *Engels* said the Council could not elect all the National Guards who had done their duty in Paris—for no room in London would hold them. He saw nothing why Richard should be elected.

Seeing the strong opposition against the candidature,

* De Wolfers.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Weston* withdrew it stating though that he was not satisfied by any means.

The Council then proceeded with that of Citizen Elliott.

Citizen *Hales* said he knew Citizen Elliott to be a man of advanced principles, and one that would do good work for the International whether he was elected or not.

Citizen *Mottershead* objected, as he knew nothing of Elliott. He thought a man should have a reputation before he was elected a member of the Council. He had a twenty years' reputation when [he] was elected.

Citizen *Marx* agreed that a man should have a reputation before he was elected on the Council.

Citizen *Hales* protested against the doctrine that a man must have a reputation before he should be elected; had that policy been adopted in the past, it would have disqualified nine-tenths of the men who had been elected. When he himself was proposed he was only known personally by his proposer and seconder. The member proposed by Citizen Mottershead, Citizen Taylor, was only known to three of the men who elected him. It was true Mottershead had a twenty years' character *good*, or *otherwise*.

Citizen *Boon* should like to know more about Citizen Elliott. Couldn't the election be postponed? Would Citizen Hales withdraw the candidature?

Citizen *Hales* would not withdraw the candidature.

The proposition was then put to the vote, and lost by 9 to 4; Citizens Bradnick, Cohn, Hales, and Weston voting for, Citizens Boon, Engels, Lessner, Marx, Mottershead, Robin, Rochat, Serraillier, and Townshend against.

Citizen *Jung* said two members had arrived whom it was advisable to elect at once; he would move the suspension of the standing order so that the elections might be proceeded with.

Citizen *Cohn* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* then proposed that Citizen Herman become a member of the Council. He had been appointed

delegate from the Belgian Federal Council, by special resolution, and it recommended his election as Belgian Secretary.

Citizen *Robin* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Serraillier* then proposed and Citizen *Rochat* seconded that Citizen Delahaye become a member of the Council. He was a member of the Paris Federal Council. The proposition was carried unanimously.

Citizens *Robin* and *Engels* both postponed the notices of motion which stood in their names for one week, owing to the pressure of other business.

Citizen *Jung* then proposed that the Council resolve itself into a "Committee of Ways and Means". This was agreed to, and he said that the refugee fund was nearly exhausted, and the necessity for its use continued to increase; many who had not applied for assistance before were now applying, and new arrivals were coming every day.

Citizen *Engels* moved that the Secretary* should write to those who had already given, and make further appeals —this was agreed to.

Citizen *Boon* proposed and Citizen *Bradnick* seconded that "The advance [of] £5 out of the funds of the Council be made to the refugee fund". Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Mottershead* suggested that a deputation should be appointed to wait upon some of the members of the House of Commons, in the Lobby on Friday night; he thought money might be got.

Citizen *Engels* proposed and Citizen *Boon* seconded that a deputation be appointed as suggested, to consist of Bradnick, Boon, Buttery, Hales, Harris, and Jung. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Boon* gave notice of motion "That the Council take into consideration the advisability of taking a benefit

* Hales.—*Ed.*

for the refugees at the Charing Cross Theatre". He thought a sum of money might be thus raised.

Citizen *Cohn* reported that the Great Struggle in the cigar trade in Belgium still continued, having lasted sixteen weeks, but ten of the masters out of the twenty-six had capitulated, and 210 men had resumed work having obtained all they demanded. Not only that, but a public meeting had been held by the workmen of Liège, at which it was unanimously resolved to form a "Trades League" to protect the interests of the workmen, and it was decided that no more carpenters or engineers should come over to England during the continuance of the present struggle. He also handed in a detailed statement of the various sums subscribed in England for the Belgian cigar-makers which he requested the Secretary to publish in the *Eastern Post* as great misrepresentations had been made upon the subject. The total sum subscribed amounted to £610 19s. 9d.[257]

Citizen *Engels* announced that the address on the *Civil War in France* had been translated and published in Dutch, German, and in French, in which language it had been published both in Belgium and Switzerland. Translations were also in progress in the Italian, Spanish, and Russian languages, and would soon be ready.[258]

Citizen *Serraillier* called attention to the fact that Mr. Odger had, in the course of lectures that he had been delivering in the country, asserted that he was the founder of the International and wrote its first address. He thought the Council ought to take some notice of the matter. Odger's conduct was like that of Tolain who—after deserting the International—was going to give its history.

Citizen *Harris* hoped the Council would take action in the matter and drive Odger into a corner, and let him see that he was not the concentrated essence of intellect.

Citizen *Marx* said Odger had nothing whatever to do with writing the Inaugural Address, it was written by himself. Odger wrote an address (or rather one was writ-

ten to which Odger's name was attached) to Tolain and his friends, but that was before the International was founded. The Inaugural Address was the first address of the International and was [adopted] at the St. Martin's Hall meeting.*[259]

Citizen *Mottershead* was sorry to see the defection of Odger for he never did anything without design. He was too cautious to do anything hasty, and he was afraid he had a purpose in view. If the lectures given by Odger were carefully studied, it would be seen that he was separating himself from everything of a social character and was going in for mere republicanism. He supposed it was to please his patrons, for of course Odger did not work for nothing, somebody found the money, and he supposed they got just what they paid to have.

There was going to be an agitation in favour of republicanism promoted by some members of Parliament, but they only wanted a change in the form of Government because under a republic they saw a possibility of becoming Secretaries of State. Now, for his part, he wouldn't stir an inch to simply effect a change in name. He thought, so far as mere political machinery was concerned, that we [have] as cheap a republic as we could get. The International ought to issue an address on the subject, for the interest of the public would soon flag.

Citizen *Hales* thought with Citizen Mottershead that it would do a great amount of good if the Council issued an address to the people of England pointing out the difference between mere republicanism and the objects of the International.

Citizen *Marx* wished to lay before the Council a matter that he thought ought not to be allowed to pass without remark. It was well known that the Council had originated

* The entry is not exact. The Inaugural Address was adopted by the Council on November 1, 1864.—*Ed.*

a refugee fund, and was rendering valuable assistance to such of the refugees as needed it, and yet an object of that character could not be let alone. A committee had been formed by Le Lubez and Ratazzi and supported by Bradlaugh, which had issued a circular full of misrepresentations.[260] It stated that Madame Dombrowska was in the deepest distress, and solicited subscriptions to find her the necessaries of life. Now this was entirely untrue and unauthorised. Madame Dombrowska had held no communications whatever with the authors of the circular, and was not in the condition described. She was much hurt to think that her name should be used for trading purposes, and her brother-in-law, M. T. Dombrowski, had written to the committee, stating that though Madame Dombrowska's means were limited yet, she was not in immediate want, and if she were, she would appeal to friends, and not to strangers.

Citizens Wheatley, Pape, and Banks were enrolled members.

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*July 25th, 1871*[261]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Bradnick, Boon, Cohn, Delahaye, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Mac Donnell, Milner, Robin, Rochat, Rühl, Serraillier, Townshend,* and *Herman.*

The following citizens were also present as visitors:

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 260-63 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Avoine, Bachruch, Badin, De Baufort, Constant, Bossens, Chautard, Davoust, Dagbert, Genin, Landrin, Leduc, Nohay, Péchard, Philippe, Rosenthal, Rostain, Roullier, Saint-Martin, Schmutz, Teulière, Tibaldi, De Willebrord,* and De Wolfers.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the Council proceeded to the election of candidates.

Citizen Lochner—who had been a member of the Council in its earlier years, but had been absent from London—was unanimously elected a member of the Council.

Citizen Mills whose character and qualifications were spoken to by Citizens Harris and Boon, was also elected a member of the Council.

A letter from the New Orleans International Republican Club was read.[262] It announced that the Club had been started with every prospect of success, and it desired to enter into relationship with the International Working Men's Association. It had already established an organ which was printed in French [and] called *La Commune*, a copy of which was enclosed.

It was resolved that the Club be put in communication with the Secretary for the French-speaking sections,** with a view to its affiliation to the Central Committee for the United States.

A letter was also received from Washington, announcing that a section of the International had been formed in that city. The members were principally journalists and were determined that the International should exert an active influence upon American politics. The section would have every facility for so doing. Washington being the great political centre of the United States, as New York was the commercial centre, the section would prefer to correspond

* Glaser de Willebrord.—*Ed.*

** Dupont.—*Ed.*

direct with the General Council rather than through the Central Committee of New York.[263] Citizen R. J. Hinton Secretary.

Citizen *Marx* announced that no less a personage than the Pope* had been concerning himself about the International. In reply to a deputation of Swiss who had waited upon him to offer congratulations, he had said, "Your country is a country of much liberty, but it gives refuge to many bad men. I allude to the men of the International, they would subvert all order, and all law, and would like to serve all Europe the same as they have served Paris. Yes, these gentlemen of the International—who are not gentlemen—are the incarnation of evil, and the only thing we can do for them, is to pray for them."

Citizen *Engels* said[264]: after the Pope should come the Anti-Pope. He had to report that Joseph Mazzini had been attacking the International and the character of the General Council,[265] saying that "its soul was Dr. Marx—a man of domineering temper, with more hate than love in his heart", and after saying that he—Mazzini—had refused to belong to it from the first because it had no religious faith, said, "The three fundamental principles of the Association were: 1st, Negation of God, that is, of all morality; 2nd, Negation of Country, which it dissolves into a Conglomeration of Communes, whose inevitable fate it would be to quarrel among themselves; 3rd, Negation of Property, thereby depriving the working man of the fruits of his labour, for the right to individual property consisted in the right which everyone had to that which he had produced". In reply to this he, Citizen Engels, might say that Mazzini never was a member of the International, but he had tried to turn it into a tool of his own. He drew up a programme which was submitted to the Provisional Council for its adoption but which it rejected. He afterwards made further

* Pius IX.—*Ed.*

attempts to interfere in the Council through Major Wolff—since discovered to be a police spy—but which attempts also failed.

With respect to the charges against the International, they were either untrue or absurd. The first, that it would make atheism compulsory, was untrue, and had been already disproved by the Secretary's letter in reply to Jules Favre's circular.* The second was absurd in itself while the third only betrayed Mazzini's ignorance of the very elements of Political Economy. That individual property, which assures to everyone the fruits of his own labour, the International would not abolish but establish. At present the fruits of the labour of the masses go into the pockets of the few, and this system of capitalist production Mazzini proposes to leave unaltered but which the International would destroy.

Citizen *Robin* called attention to the state of affairs in Switzerland, and asked if two letters—one sent by Eccarius, General Secretary, the other by Jung, Secretary for Switzerland, to the *Alliance Socialiste*** of Geneva in 1869 announcing its acceptance as a section of the International[266] —were genuine.

Citizen *Jung* said the one which had his signature attached was written by him.

Citizen *Robin* then asked if any resolution had been passed by the General Council since the date of that letter, suspending *l'Alliance Socialiste Démocratie* from its rights as a section.

The *Chairman**** answered *No.* No resolution of the kind had been passed.

Citizen *Engels* said it was a question if a section admitted under certain conditions, and not afterwards fulfilling those conditions, ever had the rights of a section.

* See pp. 417-18 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—*Ed.*

*** Jung.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Marx* said *l'Alliance Socialiste Démocratie* had not paid any contributions for two years, and it might be said therefore to have forfeited its membership.

Citizen *Serraillier* endorsed the remarks of Citizen Marx—contribution was a condition of membership.

Citizen *Hales* thought the questions raised were subjects for the Congress to decide and not for the Council.

Citizen *Robin* said he only asked for information, and he should like the Chairman's statement signed.

This was agreed to, and it was signed and countersigned by the Secretary.

Citizen *Robin* said there was another matter that he should like to ask: there was a serious split in the French part of Switzerland. There were two Federal Councils acting independently of each other, one continued to have relationship with the General Council, the other did not.[267] Could not something be done to heal the breach and bring them both into unison?

It was decided that it was a matter that must be left for the next Congress or Conference to decide upon.

Citizen *Engels* proposed "That a private Conference of the Association be called in London to meet on the third Sunday of September". He said that last year the sections gave the General Council power to postpone the Annual Congress, because of the circumstances created by the war —and things were not much better now. It was impossible to hold a Congress in France. In Germany the Association was subject to prosecution and any member that had the courage to attend a Congress would do so at the risk of imprisonment. In Spain the Association was being persecuted, and in Belgium there was no freedom. So taking things altogether there were only two places where it would be possible to meet, England and Switzerland, and Citizen Robin had told them how in the latter country the members were divided among themselves. The position too was such that if a Congress was summoned scarcely any of the

sections could send delegates; at the same time it was necessary for the General Council to take counsel with the sections as to the future policy, and to get its powers ratified, and such could only be done by holding a private Conference as he proposed.

Citizen *Robin* seconded the proposition, he agreed with the remarks of Citizen Engels; it was also necessary to try and heal the schisms.

The proposition was carried, and the Sub-Committee was instructed to draw up a programme to be submitted to the Council.

Citizen *Marx* announced that the second edition of the address on the *Civil War in France* was exhausted and asked whether it would not be advisable to have a third printed.

Citizen *Engels* proposed and Citizen *Boon* seconded that the Sub-Committee be empowered to print another 1,000 copies. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Boon* proposed and Citizen *Milner* seconded that two auditors be appointed to audit the accounts.

The proposition was carried and Citizens Cohn and Serraillier were appointed as the auditors.

Citizen *Engels* gave notice of motion that the regular appointment of Secretary be proceeded with at once, instead of waiting the expiration of the three months—the term of the provisional appointment.*

Citizen *Hales* gave notice of motion that the Council proceed to the election of a Secretary for France.

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

* See p. 195 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*August 1st, 1871*[268]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Boon*, *Bradnick*, *Buttery*, *Cohn*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lochner*, *Marx*, *Mac Donnell*, *Mills*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Roach*, *Rochat*, *Rühl* and *Serraillier*.

Citizen *Engels* was excused being ill, and Citizen *Robin*, from pressure of business.

Miss Weston attended on behalf of her father, and the following citizens were present as visitors: Bachruch, Connor, Dagbert, Davoust, De Baufort, Fondewille, Kern, Koch, Leblanc, Leduc, Légé, Longuet, Péchard, Pape, Rosenthal, Roullier and Theisz.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the *Secretary*** read a letter from the National Sunday League asking for payment of ten months' rent then due, or part of it. The letter also complained of the room being used regularly on Saturday evenings for the distribution of the refugee fund.

Citizen *Eccarius* proposed and Citizen *Cohn* seconded that six months' rent be paid. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* then proposed that a committee be appointed to look out for another room; he thought the complaint of the Sunday League a very mean one under the circumstances, and the sooner the connection with the Sunday League [is broken] the better.

Citizen *Mac Donnell* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously, Citizens Roach, Lessner and Harris being appointed.

Citizen *Mills* said he thanked the Council for the honour

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 264-68 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Hales.—*Ed.*

it had conferred upon him on electing him a member, but he was sorry to say that he should be obliged to tender his resignation. At the time he was proposed as a candidate, he has passed an Examination in Civil Engineering, and had since obtained an appointment under the Government, and he felt that it would be impossible for him to remain a member of the General Council of the International while filling a government situation. He therefore hoped his resignation would be accepted, at the same time he wished every success to the Association.

The resignation was accepted and Citizen Mills withdrew.

Citizen *Marx* said: having seen a paragraph in the *Daily Telegraph* disclaiming all knowledge of Robert Reid, he at once wrote to him calling his attention to it. In reply, Mr. Reid enclosed him a letter which he had sent off at once to the paper in question explaining the circumstance of his engagement on that paper, and demanding a retractation; this letter not being inserted, he had consulted an attorney with a view to taking further proceedings.[269]

A letter was read in which the *Peuple Belge* was offered to the Council as the official organ of the Association, upon the condition of the Council paying a monthly subvention or guaranteeing a number of subscribers.

Citizen *Jung* said the offer was first made to him personally and he had recommended that it should be sent in writing.

Citizen *Herman* said the *Peuple Belge* had not been a socialist paper before the movement of the Commune, and so far from supporting the International, it had attacked some of its members in its articles. The *Liberté*[270] was a paper that had consistently supported the principles of the International.

Citizen *Cohn* proposed that Citizen Jung be instructed to write a reply to the letter under discussion, stating that the Council could not adopt any official organ unless it should establish one itself. At the same time if the *Peuple Belge*

would insert communications from the Council without any conditions, it could do so.

Citizen *Eccarius* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Cohn* said he was instructed to ask how it was that the cigar-makers of Belgium had to pay 1 franc and a quarter per year, while in England the contribution for affiliated societies is only 1d. per year.

Citizen *Herman* said the Belgian cigar-makers had not joined as a corporate body or their contributions would only be 2d. per year: 1d. for the Federal Council of Belgium, and 1d. for the General Council—of course, as individual members they had to pay for the working expenses and for propaganda.

Citizen *Marx* said great complaints had been made about the sections taxing their members heavily, while nothing was sent to the General Council; the same complaints came from Switzerland as from Belgium. The whole subject of local charges could be discussed at the Conference.

Citizen *Cohn* assented.

Citizen *Marx* reported that the Archbishop of Malines had established a Catholic Working Men's International Association with a view to counteract the influence of the International Working Men's Association.

Citizen *Eccarius* asked what reply he should send to the new section at Washington which desired to correspond direct with the Council. He was directed to reply that under the Rules, each section had that right, if it preferred to exercise it.

The *Secretary* then brought forward his proposition for appointing a fresh Secretary for France in lieu of Dupont who was in Manchester. He was sorry that the Council should lose the services of Dupont, but he felt it would be impossible for him to continue to perform the duties of Secretary for France.

Citizen *Marx* said the question raised by the Secretary

might be dealt with in a more extended form. The recommendation from the Belgian Congress relative to the appointment of Herman as Secretary for Belgium rendered a revision of the offices necessary; besides, the Secretary for Italy had left England for good and it would be necessary to fill up the vacancy thus created. He also thought it would have a good effect if a Secretary for Ireland was appointed. He would therefore propose that Citizen Serraillier be appointed Secretary for France, Citizen Herman for Belgium, Citizen Engels for Italy and Citizen Mac Donnell for Ireland.

Citizen *Boon* seconded the proposition.

Citizen *Serraillier* objected to a fresh Secretary being appointed for France in the present state of affairs. The reason for the change would not be understood in France and it would have a bad effect if a refugee like himself was appointed just at the present time. He would suggest that the question of appointing a Secretary for France be postponed until the Conference met.

The mover and seconder of the proposition having agreed to the suggestion, it was put to the vote that Citizen Herman be appointed Secretary for Belgium, Citizen Engels for Italy and Citizen Mac Donnell for Ireland. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* said the *Paris-Journal* continued to issue the forged manifestoes which, purporting to be documents of the International, were in reality productions of the police. One of the latest issues, addressed to the workmen of France, contained the following passage: "Fire is the terror of the rich—therefore Fire shall be our weapon. Let our enemies beware of Fire!"[271]

Citizen *Rochat* moved a long resolution in French (which was translated by the Chairman*) to the effect "That as much valuable documentary evidence relating to rule of

* Jung.—*Ed.*

the Commune in Paris had been destroyed, the Council shall appoint a commission to collect trustworthy evidence and data upon the subject, and that it consist of Citizens Rochat, Delahaye, and Serraillier, with power to add".

Citizen *Serraillier* seconded the motion.

Citizen *Mottershead* doubted the practicability of the proposition.

Citizen *Milner*, on the contrary, thought it a very useful one.

Citizen *Boon* supported the motion.

Citizen *Buttery* thought the appointment of a committee a necessary thing, but he thought the selection might be wider. He would suggest the appointment of the French-speaking members.

The *Secretary* would propose "That the Sub-Committee be appointed, with power to add to their numbers"; he thought the Sub-Committee would be more impartial.

Citizen *Buttery* seconded the amendment.

Citizen *Rochat* then withdrew the proposition in favour of the amendment, but the proposition was adopted* by *Serraillier* and seconded by Citizen *Marx*.

On being put to the vote, the amendment was lost, the proposition being carried by a large majority.

Citizen *Marx* said there was one other subject to which he wished to allude. It appeared that at a meeting of the Land and Labour League a Mr. Shipton—whom he did not know—had been criticising the address on the *Civil War in France* and had said that he (Dr. Marx) had repudiated the Council. Such a remark only showed Mr. Shipton's ignorance.—"Because he had avowed himself the author of the charges contained in the address, he had repudiated the Council!"—Why, that avowal was made by the sanction of the Council, so that men like Mr. Odger, who were apologists for Mr. Thiers and Favre, should no

* Apparently should read "proposed".—*Ed.*

longer have the power to say they did not know whether the charges were true or not. The men charged were distinctly challenged to indict him for libel, so that the matter might be tested in a court of law,* but it did not serve their purpose to do so, as they knew well what the result would be. Of course it was to be easily understood why Mr. Odger was not satisfied. He had exhibited an amount of ignorance in dealing with foreign politics that would not have been creditable to any ordinary reader of newspapers. He had said, "The character of Jules Favre was irreproachable." Why, it was well known that he had been all his life the bitter opponent of the French working class and of all labour movements; he was the principal instigator of the massacres of June 1848; he was the author of the expedition to Rome in 1849; he was the man who obtained the expulsion of Louis Blanc from France; and was one of the men who brought back Bonaparte; and yet Mr. Odger unblushingly stood up and said, "Nothing could be said against the character of Jules Favre." Why, if Mr. Odger, who claimed to have been one of the foremost men of the International, had attended to his duties as a member, he must have known [that] such a statement had no ground whatever to rest upon. It was either made with a knowledge that it was false, or it betrayed an inexcusable ignorance. Mr. Odger knew nothing of the International for the last five years, as he had never attended to the duties. The office of President was abolished by the Congress,[272] because it was found to be a sham. Mr. Odger was the first and only President of the International; he never attended to his duties—the Council got on quite as well without—therefore the office was abolished.

The Council adjourned at 11.45.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

* See p. 225 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held August 8th, 1871*

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Boon*, *Buttery*, *Cohn*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Hurliman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Longuet*, *Marx*, *Mac Donnell*, *Robin*, *Rochat*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Theisz*, and *Vaillant*.

The following citizens also appeared as visitors: Avoine, Baufort,** Bennett, Constant, Durand, Guillain, Kern, Kompański, Martin, Naas, Pape, Pląskowski, Péchard, Plantade, Rüegg, Thompson, Wierzbicki, and De Wolfers.

Citizens *Bradnick* and *Roach* excused being ill.

The Minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, the *Secretary**** announced that he had received a letter from Mr. Odger enclosing a telegram from the engineers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who were on strike for the nine hours' movement, [and] asking for the advice and assistance of the Council,[273] and he also announced that he had received a letter from Mr. Burnett of Newcastle stating a deputation would wait upon the Council to lay the matter before it. The deputation was present, and he asked that it should be heard first.

This having been agreed to, the *Chairman* called upon Mr. Burnett (who with Messrs. Whetstone, Stokoe, and Wilkinson formed the deputation).

[*Burnett*] said: some three months ago the joiners of Newcastle struck for the nine hours' movement, and the majority of the masters gave in, but a few of the large firms determined not only not to accede to the demands of the men, but to destroy their union if possible, and to

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 268-72 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** De Baufort.—*Ed.*

*** Hales.—*Ed.*

that end they sent agents over to Belgium, who engaged a large number of workmen and brought them over to work as knobsticks. Some of the men thus brought over went back as soon as they ascertained the real state of affairs, but from 150 to 200 stopped and were still at work, and a very bitter feeling existed in consequence. Ten weeks ago, the engineers also struck for the same object, and during the whole of that time they had conducted themselves as peaceable men should, for which they had obtained the unanimous good opinion of the press. The masters determined to imitate the master builders, and had, like them, sent agents over to Belgium to engage workmen, and it was expected that 3,000 would be brought over, unless some steps were taken to prevent them coming. Under the circumstances the engineers thought they could not do better than appeal to the International to assist them; if it would, it was believed that it could prevent the threatened importation. In the interest of that fraternity which should exist between all workmen, and in the interest of peace and order, it was advisable something should be done, for a very bitter feeling had been already engendered; if the men did come over it was almost certain bloodshed would result.

He might also say that Sir William Armstrong had obtained the consent of the Danish Government to bring over some of the workmen from the Government Arsenal of Denmark, and if the Council could do anything in that matter he should be glad. He thought a deputation from the Council would be able to accomplish all that was needed. The men would cheerfully bear the expense.

Citizen *Herman* thought the object could be accomplished without a deputation, for the International was so well organised in Belgium. It only needed that information should be sent to the sections in six towns—Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Verviers, Liège, and Charleroi—and steps would at once be taken to acquaint the men in every iron-

working shop in Belgium of the real state of affairs. He knew enough of the men to say that if the facts were known, the men would not come over, for they were struggling for the same objects themselves. In Verviers some of them were on strike for the nine hours' movement, the same as the men of Newcastle, and it wasn't likely they would come. There might be a few men with whom it would be difficult to deal, but they were the same class of men the unions had so much trouble with in England; of course Belgium was not free from the non-union element any more than England.

Citizen *Cohn*, while agreeing with the remarks of Citizen Herman relative to the organisation of the International in Belgium, thought a deputation would be far more effective than a mere correspondence. Personal visits always carried more weight than letters could do however well they might be written. Explanations could be given and details laid before the men in a manner that would satisfy them by a deputation.

Citizen *Buttery* thought the suggestion to send a deputation a wise one; he was convinced that would be the most effective course to pursue. Whatever the Council could do, it ought to do, for the struggle for a reduction of the hours of labour was of vital importance. A spirit of jealousy would always exist so long as the workmen of one country allowed themselves to be used as tools to crush down the workmen of another. That could only be prevented by the International bringing the different sections into closer connection with each other. When workmen knew each others' wants and aspirations, they would no longer oppose each other.

Citizen *Marx* agreed with the idea that the Council should do all that lay in its power—but it always did that in every labour struggle that was brought under its notice. The misfortune was that the trade unions and labour organisations held aloof from the International until they

were in trouble, and then only did they come for assistance. They could take all preventative measures beforehand if they were in connection with it. If the engineers and joiners had belonged to the International, they could have sent information over to Belgium before the strike commenced. The International must not be blamed for failures when the circumstances were not brought before it. He hoped in future societies would think of the International in a time of peace. Withholding themselves from it was not only injurious to others, but dangerous to themselves.

Mr. *Whetstone*—President of the Amalgamated Engineers—said the Council of that body had the subject of affiliation under discussion, and the question was waiting the decision of the General Council. He hoped the time would soon arrive when all workmen would be united in one bond without respect to either trade or country.

Citizen *Delahaye* was in favour of appointing a deputation and of sending off at once to Spain, Italy, Germany, and France.

Citizen *Harris* thought the Belgian sections might appoint delegates to accompany any deputation that might be sent by the engineers, the necessity for a deputation from the Council would then be avoided.

After a few further remarks by Citizens *Herman* and *Cohn*, the proposition was put to the vote and carried,[274] Citizens Cohn and Eccarius being elected subject to the approval of the engineers.

Citizen *Marx* then proposed that the standing orders be suspended and that Citizens Longuet, Vaillant, and Theisz should at once be elected members of the Council.

Citizen *Engels* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* read a letter from Citizen Applegarth stating that he considered himself still a member of the Council and expressed his regret that he had not attended to his duties better. He hoped though to be able to attend better

in future. With respect to the use of his name, he considered it the property of the Council so long as he remained a member, and it had a right to use it when the interests of the Council required it.

Citizen *Engels* proposed "That in future visitors should be excluded from the sittings of the Council"; he said that it had been decided to hold a private Conference and it would have to discuss the programme. While that was being done, he thought strangers ought not to be admitted, especially in the present state of the Association.

Citizen *Harris* seconded the proposition, and it was put to the vote and carried.

Citizen *Serraillier* read a letter from Bordeaux stating that the International was being reorganised in that city, and was trying to form trade unions. Six or seven sections were at work in the eyes of the police.

Citizen *Engels* said that it was now evident that no more assistance could be got for the refugees from the middle class, and it was necessary to try what stuff the working class was composed of. He thought the working class of England had behaved in a disgraceful manner: though the men of Paris had risked their lives, the working men of England had made no effort either to sympathise with them or assist them. There was no political life in them; he would propose "That an appeal to be made to the workmen of England on behalf of the refugees"; if they would not do anything, let their conduct be known.

Citizen *Boon* seconded the proposition. He quite agreed with what was said by Citizen Engels about the apathy of the [English] working class; he began to despair of doing any good with them.

Citizen *Hales* denied that the English working class were as apathetic as represented, and if they didn't move in the direction that could be wished, that was the fault of the General Council, for not taking the initiative in establish-

# International Working Men's Association.

## REFUGEE FUND:

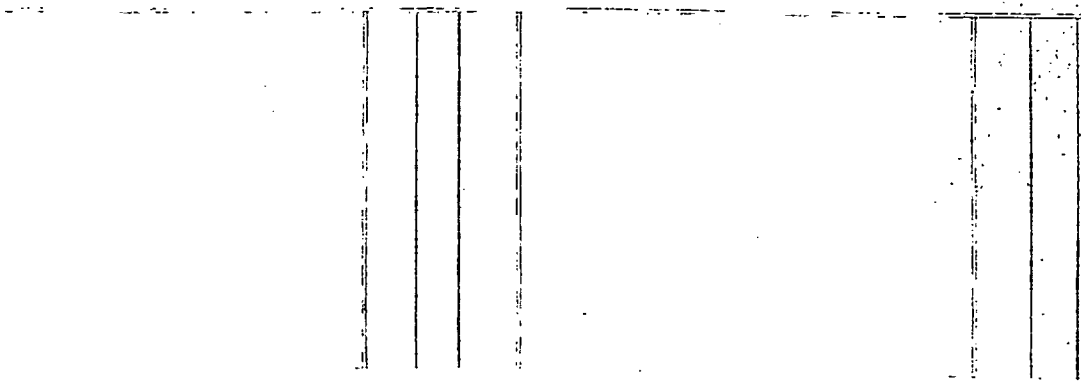
IN AID OF

# THE FRENCH COMMUNAL EXILES.

OFFICE—256, HIGH HOLBORN,
August 8th, 1871.

JOHN HALES, GENERAL SECRETARY.

*Mr.* _____ *Collecting Sheet, No.* _____



Collecting sheet of the Refugee Fund Committee

ing an English section. The International ought to have the direction of the political movement in England the same as it had in Continental countries.

Citizen *Buttery* also thought it unfair to lay so much to the charge of the English workmen: they ought to be tried before they were condemned; the Council had not yet made an appeal to them.

Citizen *Engels* said they ought to have come forward voluntarily and testified their sympathy with the Communals, the same as had been done by the German workmen. He couldn't see that the Council could be held responsible for the apathy exhibited. The Council started the Reform League,[275] and the result was the English members deserted the Council.

After a few further remarks by Citizens *Marx*, *Boon*, and *Hales* the question was put to the vote, and carried unanimously, the Secretary being instructed to get collecting sheets printed and distributed.

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF MEETING**

*August 15th, 1871*

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Bishop*, *Boon*, *Buttery*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Delahaye*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Hurliman*, *Lessner*, *Lochner*, *Longuet*, *Marx*, *Rühl*, *Theisz*, *Townshend*, *Vaillant*, and *Weston*.

The following citizens were present as visitors: Bastelica,

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 273-75 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Constant, Dagbert, Durand, Foster, Denis, Marotte, Leroux, Péchard, Philippe, and Tibaldi.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the *Secretary* announced that branches had been formed at Liverpool and Loughborough in Leicestershire. He also read a letter from Calcutta asking for powers to start a section in India. The Secretary was instructed to write and advise the establishment of a branch, but he [is] to inform the writer that it must be self-supporting. He was also to urge the necessity of enrolling natives in the Association.[276]

Citizen *Marx* reported that he had received news from New York. The members of the Cosmopolitan Club[277] had reprinted the address on the *Civil War in France* in its entirety, and the Federal Council for the United States had reprinted the address on Mr. Washburne* with a preface of its own. The most important item of news though was that Wendell Phillips, the great anti-slavery leader, had joined the ranks of the International.

Citizen *Eccarius* reported that Mrs. Mackenzie, an American lady, had spoken very strongly against the existing order of society, and had advocated the principles of the International.

Citizen *Engels* said he had received a letter from Cafiero[278] who had been travelling through Italy. In Florence the meetings of the Association had been interfered with, but the members were determined to continue the work. In Naples he found things somewhat disorganised: Caporusso, who had been imprisoned for 14 days, had lost his political zeal and was said to have embezzled 300 francs; his explanation however was that he took that money to recoup him for his imprisonment. It was a fact though that it had never been voted, and he had been expelled from the Association in consequence. The Neapolitan section complained

* See pp. 426-30 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

that while they had sent letters they had not received any in reply. No doubt could be entertained that the letters sent by the Secretary for Italy had been stopped by the authorities.

Citizen Engels also reported from Spain that the Committee in Barcelona had been persecuted, and the Federal Council of Madrid had dissolved for a time owing to the fear of a Government prosecution. All the members but one—to whom they had given a certificate that he was *not* a member—had left Madrid for Lisbon where it was determined to establish a section.

Citizen *Jung* announced that Citizen Bishop was present as the delegate of the Excelsior (City Road) branch.

Citizen *Eccarius* proposed and Citizen *Engels* seconded that he be accepted. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Hales* proposed and Citizen *Jung* seconded that Citizen Mayo become a member of the Council.

It having been announced that owing to domestic affairs Citizen Serraillier could not fulfil the duties of auditor, Citizen *Engels* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that Citizen Boon be appointed in his place.

Citizen *Marx* proposed that the private Conference to be held should be confined exclusively to questions of organisation and policy. He thought under the present circumstances the question of organisation was most important.

Citizen *Engels* seconded. Theoretical discussions were of no value except for publication, and this Conference was to be private.

Citizen *Herman* supported the proposition, and so did Citizens *Boon*, *Buttery*, *Hales*, and *Theisz*, while Citizen *Weston* was somewhat opposed to it; on being put to the vote, it was carried with one dissentient.

Citizen *Marx* proposed that additional members be added to the Sub-Committee, and that it be instructed to draw up a programme for the Conference by Tuesday 22nd.

Citizen *Harris* seconded. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Herman* proposed and Citizen *Vaillant* seconded that Citizen Longuet be added to the Sub-Committee. Carried.

Citizen *Eccarius* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded the addition of Citizen Mottershead. Carried.

The *Secretary* having announced that the three months, the term of his provisional appointment, had expired, Citizen *Engels* proposed that his term of office be extended until the close of the Conference.

Citizen *Lessner* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held August 22nd, 1871*[279]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Boon*, *Buttery*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Bastelica*, *Chalain*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Hurliman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Longuet*, *Mac Donnell*, *Rochat*, *Taylor*, *Theisz*, *Townshend*, *Vaillant*, and *Weston*.

The following citizens were also present as visitors: Durand, Clément, Constant, Denis, Foster, Légé, Marrotan, and Péchard.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the *Secretary*** stated that he had that afternoon attended a meeting at the office of the *Bee-Hive*, at which a scheme was proposed having for its object the

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 275-77 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Hales.—*Ed.*

emigration of the 35,000 Communists, prisoners at Versailles, to the French-speaking part of Canada. It was promoted by Sir E. Watkin, and the Canadian Government had been consulted and had returned a favourable reply. The prisoners themselves were said to be in favour of the proposal.[280]

Citizen *Eccarius* was opposed to the scheme: it was hatched by the Versailles Government. It had been in communication with the American Government upon the same subject; some scheme had been discussed relative to the removal of the Communists to some place among the Rocky Mountains—and there form a colony which should be an antidote to the Mormon settlement at Utah. Another thing, he had no faith in anything which came from Bolt Court.*

Citizen *Vaillant* was glad the proposition emanated from an English member of Parliament. If accepted by the Government of Versailles, it would be an admission that the prisoners were held illegally.

Citizen *Harris* would not have anything to do with the matter.**

Citizen *Engels* said it would be shameful conduct on the part of the Council, if it had anything to do with the matter.

Citizen *Lessner* thought the Council could not accept the scheme. It had just been defending the Commune.

Citizen *Weston* thought it preferable to accept the proposal than allow the men to be sent to Cayenne.

Citizen *Longuet* said it would be as bad for the prisoners to be sent to Canada, as it would to Cayenne. It was more than probable that if the prisoners were ever tried and sentenced, they would soon after be amnestied.

Citizen *Theisz* spoke in the same sense. The men should be left to settle the matter themselves.

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* Here the *Bee-Hive* editorial board had its seat.—*Ed.*

** Further the following sentence is crossed out in the MS: "What business had a lot of 'middle class' men dabbling in matters that did not concern them?"—*Ed.*

After a few more words the following order of the day was proposed by Citizen *Longuet*, seconded by Citizen *Vaillant*, supported by Citizen *Hales*, and carried unanimously:

Considering that should the General Council pass any approval of Sir E. Watkin it would at the same time assent to the moral condemnation of men who, according to its own views publicly expressed, fought the battle of the European working class;

Considering moreover that it is not the part of the General Council to intervene between the conquered soldiers of revolution and their Versailles murderers—it hereby passes to the order of the day.

Citizen *Engels* reported that he had received a letter from Spain. The members of the Federal Council of Madrid were still at Lisbon, but hopes were entertained that the change of ministry which had taken place would end the persecutions which had been directed against the International.[281]

A letter had also been received from the No. 1 German section of New York. It recommended that an appeal should be made by the General Council to the workmen of America on behalf of the refugees.[282]

It was decided that it should be left in the hands of Citizen Marx.

Citizen *Herman* reported that the workmen of Verviers had been successful in their struggle, they had obtained a rise of 2½ [francs] per day with a reduction of two hours at the same time. No workman would be allowed to leave Verviers for Newcastle. News had been received from Antwerp of the arrival of Cohn and meetings had been held in Bruxelles, Liège, Seraing, and Ivry* at which resolutions of sympathy with the engineers of Newcastle had been passed unanimously.

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* Should read Yvoir.—*Ed.*

The standing orders were suspended, and Citizens Bastelica, Chalain, and Frankel were unanimously elected members of the Council.

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

*KARL MARX*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held August 29th, 1871*[283]

Citizen *Marx* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Bastelica*, *Boon*, *Buttery*, *Chalain*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lochner*, *Longuet*, *Marx*, *Mac Donnell*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Roach*, *Robin*, *Rochat*, *Serraillier*, *Townshend*, *Vaillant*, and *Weston*.

The Minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen *Marx* said it would be necessary to enforce the resolution, relative to the exclusion of strangers,** as information of the proceedings of the Council had been sent by some means to the French police.

The room was accordingly cleared of strangers.

The *Chairman* then announced that a deputation from the Refugees' Society[284] was in attendance, and read a letter explanatory of its being appointed. It was then decided that the deputation should be heard.

From the statement made, it appeared that the Committee of the Refugees desired the Council to give a categorical reply to the following demands: 1st. To give an explanation relative to various sums reported as received in *Reynolds's Newspaper*[285] of the 20th and 27th inst.; 2nd. To furnish to the Committee a complete list of the sums contributed on

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 277-79 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See p. 256 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

behalf of the refugees since the entry of Versailles troops into Paris in May last; 3rd. To give to the Committee a complete list of the persons who had received assistance from the fund, with a statement of the sums received by them.

The *Secretary* said in explanation that the sums acknowledged in *Reynolds's* had all been received and would be found duly entered in the Treasurer's Book, but they were not all acknowledged the same week as received. Some of them having been received as long as six weeks back, they were inserted in the paper when they were, to induce others to give.

Citizen *Jung* objected to the Council complying to the demands made; he would give a list to the Council or any of its members, but to no one else.

Citizen *Hales* considered the refugees had no right to make the demands they had; the Council was only responsible to the contributors of the fund—not to the recipients.

Citizen *Harris* thought the object of the Committee was to prevent imposition, as there was the possibility of some being relieved twice over.

Citizen *Mottershead* hoped the Council would not allow a suspicion of unfairness to get abroad; for the sake of good faith it would be advisable to answer the questions.*

Citizen *Vaillant* thought the Committee entertained no suspicions of the perfect honesty of the Council, it only desired to take precautions against imposition.

Citizen *Robin* thought three answers might be given, namely: how much the Council had received, how much it had distributed before the formation of the Committee, and how much it had handed over to the delegates of the Committee.

Citizens *Milner* and *Weston* thought the list of contributors should not be given up, but could see no reason for withholding the list of recipients.

Citizen *Serraillier* thought it would be satisfactory if the

* Mottershead's remarks were written between the lines of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Council gave the Committee an account of the sums paid to the delegates of the Committee.

Citizen *Jung* was opposed to giving any information.

Citizen *Theisz* said the men were almost starving. Some of them had had to sleep in the parks, and it must be remembered that they had sacrificed everything, and had been reduced to their present condition through manfully fighting for principle. If they were a little unreasonable, allowances should be made.

Citizen *Longuet* agreed that the men had no right to make the demands they had, but it would be well to be conciliatory.

Citizen *Hales* wished to deal with it as a matter of business. The Council collected funds and had a right to dispose of them as it saw fit—without being questioned by anyone except the contributors. He objected to the Council giving any information or any pledge as to the future disposal of funds.

Citizen *Engels* could not recognise any right in the demands, more especially as all the money received for the fund, since the formation of the Committee, had been handed over to it, except in instances where assistance had been given to enable some of the men to get employment. He proposed the following resolution:

That the Council cannot recognise the right of anybody but subscribers to inquire into the distribution of the refugee fund, but under the present exceptional circumstances consents to make the following statements:

1st. Before the formation of the Refugees' Committee, the Council distributed to individuals. . .*

2nd. Since the formation of the Committee, the Council has made no direct distribution, except to enable persons to get to work.

3rd. Since the formation of the Refugees' Committee, the Council has paid over to that Committee. . .*

* No figure is given in the MS.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Lessner* seconded the proposition and it was carried, with 3 dissentients to the preamble, 5 dissentients to the first clause, 4 dissentients to the second clause, and 4 dissentients to the third clause.

Citizen *Jung* then tendered his resignation as treasurer of the refugee fund.

Citizen *Weston* announced that he had received a sum of money from America to transmit to the refugees in Switzerland.

Citizen *Boon* proposed that the refugee fund be audited up to the end of August.

Citizen *Mottershead* seconded the proposition and it was carried, as was likewise a proposition that the general accounts should also be audited up to the same date, at the same time.

Citizens Mottershead and Longuet were appointed to act in conjunction with Citizens Boon and Buttery.

The Council adjourned at 11.45.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

Citizen *Mottershead* protested against the correctness of these Minutes on the ground that his speech was not reported.*

## *COUNCIL MEETING***

*Held September 5th, 1871*[286]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Bastelica*, *Bishop*, *Boon*, *Chalain*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lochner*, *Longuet*, *Marx*, *Mayo*, *Milner*,

* This paragraph was written along the margin.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 280-84 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*Mottershead*. *Robin*, *Rochat*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney*, *Theisz*, *Townshend*, *Vaillant*, *Weston*, and *Frankel*.

The *Secretary* having read the Minutes of the preceding meeting, Citizen *Harris* complained that no mention was made of Citizen Mottershead in the report. He took a very active part in the preceding meeting and yet no mention was made of anything he said. The Minutes were not correct. He challenged the Secretary to read Mottershead's speech from the Minutes.

Citizen *Mottershead* said the Minutes just read were absolutely incorrect, they were the worst Minutes he had ever heard read, and if they were put from the chair as they were, he would move their rejection. He had taken a prominent part in the debate and yet his name was not mentioned.

The *Secretary* then wrote in a paragraph relative to Citizen Mottershead's speech, and Citizen *Robin* proposed that the Minutes be confirmed with the insertion of Citizen Mottershead's protest.

Citizen *Serraillier* seconded.

Citizen *Mottershead* proposed as an amendment that the Minutes be adjourned and that the business of the Council be proceeded with, without the Minutes being confirmed.

Citizen *Harris* seconded.

On being put to the vote the amendment was lost and the Minutes were confirmed.

Citizen *Marx* said as a great deal of business had to be done it would be necessary to fix some regulations, so as to prevent waste of time. He would propose that each speaker be limited to 5 minutes.

Citizen *Eccarius* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizens *Marx*, *Engels*, *Hales*, and *Jung* tendered their resignations as members of the Refugees' Committee on the ground that they would no longer have time to attend to the duties owing to the approaching Conference.

The resignations were accepted, and Citizens Mottershead, Vaillant, Theisz, and Frankel were elected to fill their places provisionally.

Citizen *Marx* said that he had received a bill from Mr. Truelove for printing for £28.[287] There were some trifling charges for which himself and Citizen Engels were responsible for advertising—he must ask the Council to deal with the matter.

Citizen *Boon* said as one of the auditors he found that there was something less than six pounds in hand and that sum was owing for rent; he was surprised to learn from Mr. Truelove that nearly two thousand copies of the address on the *Civil War in France* remained in hand; he understood the second thousand was exhausted before the third was printed.

Citizen *Marx* said it would be necessary to examine and verify the accounts, he would therefore move that the matter be handed over to the Sub-Committee.* Carried unanimously, seconded by *Lessner*.

Citizen Mayo was then unanimously elected a member of the General Council.

Citizen *Marx* said he had a number of resolutions to submit relative to the approaching Conference. Some of them were formal ones, necessary to be passed preparatory to others. He would propose that the accounts be prepared and laid before the Council on Tuesday next with an account of the various sums paid by the different sections and branches since the Congress of Basle.

The proposition was agreed to, it being understood that it was the work of the Financial Secretary.

He then moved that a Committee be appointed to find a room in which to hold the Conference, and also to find an hotel in which the delegates could be accommodated.

Carried, Citizens Serraillier, Mottershead, and Townshend being appointed to carry it out.

* See p. 320 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Marx* then proposed that the entire Council shall have the right to assist at the Conference with power to speak upon all questions, but that only a certain number be allowed to vote, the number to be fixed when it is known how many delegates come from the different sections.

Citizen *Engels* seconded the proposition.

Citizen *Serraillier* would ask whether it would not be better to let the Conference decide the matter.

Citizen *Herman* said: "No doubt many members of the General Council would be appointed delegates for different sections, and if so, such members ought not to be counted as members of the General Council."

Citizen *Bastelica* thought it better that the Conference would fix the number of delegates from the Council.

Citizen *Mottershead* said the Council was asked to affirm or relinquish a right. If it assumed the power to fix, it decided that all the members had the right, but that it proposed to partially relinquish that right of voting. What he wanted was a basis defined upon which to act.

Citizen *Vaillant* said the most important question at the present time was the question of organisation. There could not be too many brains. Everyone should speak, but the voting ought to be limited.

Citizen *Milner* thought it would be best if the Council reserved to itself so much voting power and casted a vote collectively instead of appointing delegates.

Citizen *Boon* said Citizen Milner's suggestion was impracticable, as upon every question the Council itself would have to discuss, and it would come to who should decide.

Citizen *Weston* said the Council was chosen by the Congress of Basle and it would not be just for the Council to give up its powers to a smaller body which might not represent the whole Association. Everyone should speak—if not vote.

Citizen *Hales* said Citizen Weston's argument would not hold water, for the majority of the members constituting

the Council had been added since the Basle Congress. The members elected by the Congress were a minority. The Council was not a homogeneous whole, but was composed of men with different ideas of policy.

Citizen *Marx* said the Council was a governing body, as distinct from its constituents, and had a policy as a Council collectively.

Citizen *Mottershead* said the Council was dealing with the unknown quantity. What was wanted was some principle to act upon. The Council either had or had not the right of deciding upon the voting question.

Citizen *Marx* said the Council asserted the *right* of every member to attend and speak, and also proposed to fix the voting power.

Citizen *Theisz* was in favour of the first part of the proposition, so that everyone might have the power of speaking for the Council, but he disagreed altogether with the latter clause; he thought none of the Council ought to vote upon their own conduct. If they did they would re-elect themselves.

Citizen *Engels* said the General Council had always been represented by delegates—the number not limited—who had the right of voting, and it ought not to give up the right. The Conference itself was a compromise and was not provided for in the Rules, it simply arose out of the exigences of the situation.

Citizen *Eccarius* said: so far as delegateship was concerned the Swiss societies swamped all the other delegates at Geneva. The Council had no right to swamp all the other delegates, it might just as well pass certain decrees and call upon the sections to register them, and not call the Conference at all.

Citizen *Chalain* said there was no fear of swamping. There ought to be no talk of nationality.

Citizen *Mottershead* said the question was one of right

and had not yet been decided. What was wanted was the principle to serve as a basis.

Citizen *Vaillant* thought the Council would be quite justified in simply calling the Conference to advise upon the position of the Association, without giving the delegates the right to vote. The Council had the right itself to decide upon the questions of organisation as it was the centre of the Association and had the best knowledge of the requirements of the Association as a whole—and had the best opportunity of judging what would be best to promote its interests.

Citizen *Hales* agreed with Vaillant; he hardly thought the Council would be justified in resigning its functions to a Conference which would not fully represent the Association. The Council itself might be said to represent the various sections. He considered the French members would represent the Paris section quite as much as if they came direct from Paris to the Conference.

On the resolution being put to the vote, the first clause was carried unanimously. The second by nine to three.

Citizen *Marx* then proposed that those delegates who should have credentials from the sections should not be considered delegates of the Council; it was seconded and carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* also proposed that those Frenchmen now resident in London be called upon to provide for the representation of the French sections by selecting three delegates. Carried.

Citizen *Jung* proposed and Citizen *Serraillier* seconded that Citizens Martin and Le Moussu become members of the Council.*

The Council adjourned at 11.45.

*KARL MARX*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

* The last two sentences were entered later.—*Ed.*

## *MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL**

*September 12th, 1871*

Citizen *Marx* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Bastelica*, *Boon*, *Bradnick*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Hurliman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Le Moussu*, *Lochner*, *Marx*, *Martin*, *Mac Donnell*, *Mayo*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Rochat*, *Stepney*, *Serraillier*, *Taylor*, *Townshend*, and *Vaillant*.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen *Engels* brought up the report of the Sub-Committee relative to the programme of the Conference. The first six clauses were adopted unanimously.[288] The seventh, which gave rise to a discussion, proposed to suspend the privileges of membership in the case of branches or affiliated societies withholding statistical information from the General Council in relation of the Statutes.[289]

Citizen *Boon* was opposed to the clause: he doubted whether the General Council would be wise in submitting it; he thought it went too far; he questioned whether it could have the right to enforce it, if carried.

Citizen *Bradnick* thought the Council had the right, but doubted the policy of so doing.

Citizen *Lessner* said the Council had a right to demand that the duties should be performed by those who enjoyed the privileges of membership.

Citizen *Hales* thought the proposition was contrary to the Statutes. Every section had the right to retain its autonomy and maintain its own rules if they were not opposed to the General Statutes, and many societies had rules which would preclude them giving the information demanded.

Citizen *Engels* said if societies had such rules, as Hales asserted, it was quite time such rules were abolished.

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 284-86 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Harris* hoped the clause would pass.

Citizen *Jung* was of an opinion some such clause was absolutely necessary. Every Congress had passed resolutions affirming the necessity of the information required being sent to the General Council, and yet no notice had been taken of them, because no penalty was attached for non-compliance.

Citizen *Vaillant* said we were bound by the Statutes to support strikes, if reasonable, but he thought it only right [that] the societies should comply with the conditions laid down by the Council.

Citizen *Bastelica* said the sections and branches had duties to fulfil as well as rights to ask.

Citizen *Engels* proposed the following as a substitute for the resolution of the Sub-Committee: That sections or branches, not furnishing information required by the Council, shall be reported to the General Council which shall take such action as may be deemed advisable.

Carried unanimously.

The rest of the clauses were then read and adopted without discussion.

Citizen *Engels* asked if the accounts were ready.

Citizen *Harris* said that he had not had all the accounts furnished to him by the General Secretary and consequently could not prepare the report.

Citizen *Hales* said all the misunderstandings that had taken place were caused by Citizen Harris who had thrown up the books for anyone to take who pleased. He would ask that a Committee of investigation [should be appointed].

Citizen *Harris* denied Citizen Hales's statement.

Citizen *Hales* said a Committee would decide who was in the right. He would propose that one be appointed.

Citizen *Bradnick* thought it would be well if one was elected.

Citizens *Boon* and *Milner* were opposed to a Committee, there was no necessity for it.

Citizen *Engels* said what was wanted was that the accounts should be audited, he would propose that they be prepared by Saturday.

Citizen *Harris* agreed to have them ready by Saturday if the General Secretary would furnish him in the meantime with the last accounts.

This Citizen *Hales* promised.

Citizen *Mottershead* reported on behalf of the Sub-Committee appointed to select a room for the Conference. They had visited the "Blue Posts" in Newman St. and the Artisans' Club. They recommended the "Blue Posts" as there was some doubt about the Artisans' Club being obtained.

Citizen *Lessner* had visited Franklin Hall, Castle St.; he thought it would suit.

Citizen *Eccarius* proposed that the Artisans' Club be preferred if it could be obtained.

Citizen *Milner* seconded and it was carried.

Citizen *Jung* proposed and Citizen *Bradnick* seconded that a special meeting be held on Saturday 16th to complete the arrangements for the Conference. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Bastelica* proposed and Citizen *Theisz* seconded that Citizens Avrial and Camélinat become members of the Council.

The Council adjourned at 11.45.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING (SPECIAL)**

*Held on Saturday, September 16th, 1871*

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Bastelica*, *Boon*, *Chalain*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*,

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 287-89 of the Minute Book. *Ed.*

*Jung, Lessner, Dupont, Le Moussu, Longuet, Marx, Martin, Milner, Mottershead, Robin, Rochat, Serraillier, Stepney, Theisz, Townshend, Vaillant.*

The *Chairman* announced that delegates had arrived from Bruxelles, Liège, Vallée de la Vesdre, Verviers, Antwerp, Geneva, and Spain, the latter delegate being appointed at a congress of Spanish delegates held at Valencia. He thought the Council might proceed to the election of its delegates; it could now fix the number it would appoint.

Citizen *Bastelica* had received a letter from Marseilles. The secretary had been concealed three months, and he was afraid no delegate would be sent.

Citizen *Robin* thought that, considering the disorganised state of France, informal delegates might be allowed to represent the places they were acquainted [with] where there were no delegates appointed. Bastelica might represent Marseilles, Scholl—Lyons, and other citizens other places in the same manner.

Citizen *Mottershead*, while conceding that there was something in what was urged by Robin, should want a credential of some kind.

Citizen *Bastelica* was opposed to a separate representation for towns. The refugees had to elect three delegates to represent France.

Citizen *Delahaye* thought the proposition of Robin's a good one; as the Conference was to discuss the question of organisation, it was necessary the provinces should be represented, otherwise they might not be satisfied.

Citizen *Bastelica* said he enjoyed the confidence of the Marseilles [section], but others might not possess the confidence of the sections to which they belonged.

Citizen *Marx* said that citizens might be invited to attend the Conference and express their opinions upon special subjects.

As the refugees had not elected the three delegates in accordance with the resolution passed at a previous meet-

ing,* it was necessary that it should be rescinded; as it was known that the French police have relations with somebody among the refugees, and spies must be guarded against, he would propose that it be rescinded.

*Engels* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Hales* said: as it was necessary France should be represented, he would propose that the French delegates proceed to elect three to represent France.

Citizen *Marx* was opposed to any such resolution. Other countries had no representation. France would only be in the same position as Italy, Germany, and America.

The proposition not being seconded fell through.

Citizen *Engels* proposed that those countries not appointing delegates should be represented by their secretaries.

Citizen *Lessner* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* proposed and Citizen *Bastelica* seconded that the Council should be represented by six delegates. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Mottershead* said: as the Council had deprived itself of some of its voting power it ought to always have the six votes; he would propose that the delegates of the Council should have the right to vote by proxy.

Citizen *Townshend* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

The following citizens were then proposed and obtained votes as follows: Mottershead 21, Frankel 16, Jung 16, Serraillier 15, Bastelica 15, Vaillant 11, Longuet 8, Lessner 6, Milner 6, Boon 5, Robin 4, Theisz 3, and Townshend 2. The six first were therefore declared elected.

Citizen *Hales* then proposed "That the London branches be requested to proceed to the election of a Federal Council for London, which should, after obtaining the adhesion of the provincial branches, become the Federal Council for England". He said his experience as Secretary convinced

* See p. 271 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

him that some such action was necessary. The English correspondence had increased to such an extent that such a step was necessary to save the time of the General Council; besides, the General Council had not the time to devote to matters purely English, and the English movement suffered accordingly; the members were continually asking whether the Association was taking any action with regard to English politics.

Citizen *Longuet* seconded the proposition. He thought the English movement wanted action; at present it had no object.

Citizen *Mottershead* opposed the proposition, for the reason that there were no branches—nor any political movement. The working classes were apathetic, and it would only create a sham. There had been no political life since 1848. Let branches—real ones—be formed and the Federal Council would follow. The Republican Party was supported by the member for Leicester*—who no doubt paid for the attack upon the International and the Secretary in the *National Reformer.*

Citizen *Longuet* said: if there were no branches, as asserted, that was a reason for the Council, so that it might proceed with the work of propaganda.

Citizen *Hales* said there were branches and quite sufficient force belonging to the International in England to justify his proposition.

Citizen *Marx* said the subject better be referred to the Conference, and after a few more words it was decided that it should be referred to the Conference for consideration as some of the delegates had propositions to submit upon the same subject.[290]

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

* The reference is apparently to Peter Alfred Taylor.—*Ed.*

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held September 26th, 1871*[291]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Applegarth*, *Boon*, *Chalain*, *Eccarius*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Herman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Le Moussu*, *Marx*, *Martin*, *Mayo*, *Milner*, *Robin*, *Rochat*, *Serraillier*, *Taylor*, *Townshend*, *Vaillant*, and *Longuet*.

Citizen *Marx* announced that he had received £50 for the International from a friend who did not desire his name to be known, and handed the same over to the Secretary.

The *Chairman* said Robin had some business which it would be necessary to discuss.

Citizen *Robin* said the Conference had passed a resolution asking him to withdraw a letter which he had written stating that he would not again attend the Conference sittings upon the ground that it was insulting to the Conference; he did not consider that there was anything insulting in it—on the other hand he considered that he had been insulted himself by Citizen Outine. He could not withdraw the letter, he was treated as a prisoner on his defence when he was only a witness.[292]

Citizen *Vaillant* said Citizen [Robin] mistook his position, he was invited to attend the Commission appointed by the Conference to give [evidence] relative to the Swiss dispute,[293] because he was supposed to be acquainted with one side of the question. There was no charge made against him and he ought not to have withdrawn.

Citizen *Serraillier* asked Robin if after the explanation of Vaillant he would not withdraw the letter.

Citizen *Robin* replied, "No."

Citizen *Serraillier* thereupon proposed that the question be adjourned to next week; it would be necessary to discuss the matter after Robin's refusal to withdraw the letter.

* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 290-95 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Marx* said: in the invitation or summons to attend the Commission, not a word was said about accusing Robin, and Outine could not accuse in a judicial sense, as one witness could not accuse another, unless his evidence involved facts. Citizen Robin did not leave in the first instance because he was accused, but because the last train was nearly due. Outine requested him to stop, and when he refused said, "If you don't stop I shall (as I don't wish to speak of a man in his absence) be compelled to speak of you as the principal instigator in the dispute." Citizen Robin then left the room saying to Outine, "I despise you." So that Robin insulted Outine quite as much as Outine insulted Robin, and [Outine] might just as well have refused to attend the Commission upon the same ground. Robin's letter was an insult to the Conference as his refusal to attend made the labours of the Commission useless, as without him it was not able to perform the work for which it was appointed.

Citizen *Robin* said he would change the letter, so that it should read "charged by one of the witnesses".

Citizen *Serraillier* objected: the letter having been recorded in the Minutes [it] could not be altered, it could only be withdrawn or defended; he would press his proposition for adjournment.

Citizen *Rochat* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* communicated a letter received from the Copenhagen section. The section had established a newspaper called *The Socialist*,* and desired to enter into direct relationship with the General Council.[294]

It was proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously that a regular correspondence be maintained. *Marx* and *Longuet*.

Citizen *Marx* also read a letter which he had received from the Berlin section, undaunted by the recent prosecutions. The section had determined to hold a public meeting

* *Socialisten.—Ed.*

to refute the calumnies against the International, but before so doing, they wanted a new stock of cards. He should reply that the Conference had determined to dispense with cards and communicate the text of the resolutions, informing them that the stamps would be sent as soon as ready. At the same time he should urge upon them the advisability of holding their meeting without any delay, as it would have a great influence for good.[295]

Citizen *Vaillant* read a letter from Paris, which submitted a project for colonising New Caledonia upon the principle of associative action between Capital and Labour. £40,000 had already been promised and there was little doubt but that £200,000 could be raised, if the project was supported by the workmen and their friends.

Arrangements had already been made to purchase land to be given to the workers, to be allotted in proportion to the size of the families of the workers. The workers were to share in the profits, and have the liberty to cultivate anything they liked for their own use and even to sell, but the staple article of production upon which the colony was chiefly to depend was sugar for which a ready sale could be found; in conclusion the writer asked if an appeal could not be made to English capitalists to support the scheme.[296]

Citizen *Longuet* said: before he could give an opinion, he should want further explanation. The project was based upon a transportation which had not yet taken place. The Council could not take any action in the present state of the affair.

Citizen *Chalain* said the Council had refused to entertain a previous project.*

Citizen *Martin* said it was a reactionary project—intended to relieve the embarrassment of the Versailles Government.

Citizen *Marx* proposed [that] the Council should proceed

* See pp. 260-61 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

to the order of the day; the Council could not endorse any proposition of the kind, as it belonged to the same party as the men whose fate was involved.

Citizen *Le Moussu* said the men who had projected the scheme evidently wished the men transported so as to make a profit; it would be a disgrace were the Council to entertain it.

Citizen *Frankel* said he thought he knew the author—if so, he was half cracked.

Citizen *Boon* said if the Council took up the matter, it [would] be acting as emigration touter to the middle class. The scheme was evidently opposed to the interests of the International. He would second the proposition to proceed to the order of the day.

On being put, it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Applegarth* said he had received a letter from Rittinghausen of Cologne—who said he had a brother, a cigar-maker in Antwerp, whose men were on strike. He invited him to go over and see if he could settle the matter and offered to pay his expenses. He, Citizen Applegarth, thought it would have a good effect if it was known that a manufacturer had applied to the International to arbitrate in a dispute.

Citizen De Paepe said the cigar-makers' strike was ended.[297]

Citizen *Boon* objected to the Council having anything to do with the matter. He thought that in future the Council would have to be careful in appointing delegates, so that men who really knew nothing of labour questions might not be able to say they represented the International.

Citizen *Marx* proposed that the Council proceed to the order of the day. The Council had nothing to do with employers.

Citizen *Rochat* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Serraillier* said he had received a letter from Scholl, late member of the Council of Lyons, asking for £3

to pay the travelling expenses of a Communist who had been sentenced to death but who had managed to escape and was hiding; he proposed that £2 be voted, he thought the rest would be found by other friends.

Citizen *Vaillant* seconded.

Citizen *Le Moussu* proposed that the £3 be voted.

Citizen *Robin* seconded and it was carried.

The election of officers was then proceeded with.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Serraillier* seconded that Citizen Hales be appointed General Secretary.

Citizen *Boon* proposed and Citizen *Taylor* seconded that Citizen Mottershead be appointed.

On being put to the vote, 15 voted for Hales and 5 for Mottershead.

Citizen *Hales* proposed and Citizen *Herman* seconded that the office of Financial Secretary be abolished and a Finance Committee substituted.

Citizen *Boon* was opposed; he thought the functions of Corresponding Secretary and Financial Secretary were distinct and should be kept separate. Citizen Harris's accounts were well kept.

Citizen *Milner* was of the same opinion as Boon.

Citizen *Marx* said the Conference recommended an alteration in the mode of keeping the accounts.[298]

The proposition was carried and Citizens Boon, Mottershead, and Engels were appointed as Finance Committee.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Longuet* seconded that Citizen Theisz be Treasurer. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Frankel* proposed and Citizen *Vaillant* seconded that Dr. Marx be appointed Secretary for Germany. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Eccarius* seconded that Frankel be appointed Secretary for Hungary and Austria. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Longuet* proposed and Citizen *Boon* seconded that Serraillier be Secretary for France.

Citizen *Chalain* proposed and Citizen *Martin* seconded that Citizen Vaillant be appointed.

On being put [to the vote], Serraillier received 13 votes, Citizen Vaillant 7.

Citizen *Serraillier* proposed and Citizen *Frankel* seconded that Engels be appointed Secretary for Italy.

Citizen *Longuet* proposed and Citizen *Chalain* seconded that Citizen Bastelica be appointed—9 votes were given for Engels, 8 for Bastelica, and 3 for Vaillant, who had declined to stand.

The rest of the elections were postponed, and the Council adjourned at 11.45.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING**

*Held October 2nd, 1871*[299]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Applegarth*, *Bastelica*, *Boon*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lochner*, *Martin*, *Le Moussu*, *Marx*, *Mac Donnell*, *Milner*, *Roach*, *Rochat*, *Pfänder*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Schmutz*, *Taylor*, *Theisz*, and *Townshend*.

The Minutes of the three previous meetings having been read and confirmed, Citizen *Harris* asked a question, relative to one of the letters sent by the Secretary** to *Reynolds's Newspaper* acknowledging money received, as to whether a branch existed in Lambeth.***

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 295-99 of the Minute Book. *Ed.*

** Hales. *Ed.*

*** The words "as to whether a branch existed in Lambeth" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* replied briefly to the question "No" and announced that the proposition for the election of Citizens Avrial and Camélinat stood first in the order of the day.

Citizen *Marx* thought the question ought to be deferred until after the Council had discussed the report of the Conference, as one of its recommendations suggested the advisability of the Council limiting new additions to its number.[300]

Citizen *Theisz* said it had been stated that the Conference would not affect the composition of the Council, and he thought no notice should be taken of the Conference in this matter, but that the Council should proceed with election, as was usual in such cases.

Citizen *Marx* thought the Council ought to receive the recommendation of the Conference, before proceeding to any fresh elections.

Citizen *Engels* said the Council was engaged in reconstituting itself. Part of the secretaries had been elected, and he thought the rest should be elected before any other business was entered upon.

Citizen *Bastelica* said the proposition was made in due course, and as nothing had been said against the character of either of the candidates, he thought the Council ought at once to decide as to whether it had the right to elect them.

Citizen *Marx* said it was not a question of right, but of formality; if the elections were pressed, why, then of necessity the resolutions of the Conference would have to be submitted.

Citizen *Eccarius* said he agreed with Citizen Engels, he thought the secretaries should all be appointed before anything else was done.

Citizen *Bastelica* said it was not him that introduced the question but the Secretary in reading the Minutes. He would propose that the question be discussed.

Citizen *Theisz* seconded.

Citizen *Serraillier* was in favour of discussing the proposition but he thought the resolutions of the Conference should be communicated as the mover and seconder of the proposition might change their views when they had heard them.

Citizen *Herman* said there were many important things to be done—such as the election of officers and which, he thought, ought to be done before new elections took place.

Citizen *Harris* thought the Council ought to have received the report of the Conference before it proceeded even to the election of its officers.

Citizen *Boon* asked if the Conference had in any [way] affected the Conference.*

Citizen *Engels* proposed and Citizen *Eccarius* seconded that the election be proceeded with before anything else was done. Carried.

Citizen *Herman* said he had received a letter from Belgium stating that a person was in Brussels trying to engage coppersmiths for Glasgow. Men were willing to accept his offer if no harm would be done by so doing; but they wanted to know if there was any dispute or strike before they engaged, as they had no wish to be used as tools.

It was agreed that the Secretary should at once telegraph to Citizen Blair of Glasgow asking for information, which was at once done.

Citizen *Boon* proposed and Citizen *Mac Donnell* seconded that Citizen Engels be Secretary for Spain.

Citizen *Theisz* proposed Citizen Bastelica—but he refused to stand and Citizen Engels was elected unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that Citizen Mac Donnell be Secretary for Ireland. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Rochat* proposed and Citizen *Engels* seconded that Citizen Herman be Secretary for Belgium. Carried unanimously.

* Should apparently read "Council".—*Ed.*

Citizen *Frankel* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that Citizen Eccarius be Secretary for the United States.

Carried unanimously, Citizen Harris who was also proposed having declined to stand.

Citizen *Serraillier* proposed and Citizen *Engels* seconded that Citizen Vaillant be Secretary for the French-speaking sections in America. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* stated that Citizen Zabicki had returned to Galicia—but that he had given the Council power to use his name as Secretary for Poland until his successor was appointed. It was therefore agreed that his name should be retained provisionally until another Pole would undertake the duties.

Citizen Jung was proposed by Citizen *Marx* and seconded by Citizen *Hales* as Secretary for Switzerland. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Hales* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that Citizen Rochat be Secretary for Holland. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Boon* proposed that the appointment of a Secretary for Denmark be postponed until the return of Citizen Cohn from Newcastle, but after an explanation[301] withdrew it and proposed that Citizen Mottershead be appointed as Secretary.

Citizen *Taylor* seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

## RUSSIA

Citizen *Engels* proposed and Citizen *Roach* seconded that Citizen Marx be appointed Secretary. It was stated that it was the wish of the Russian section and the proposition was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Jung* asked what was to be done relative to the banquet; he had paid for it out of the funds and some arrangements ought to be made as to repayment.

It was agreed that those attending it should pay 5s. each,

it being estimated that that would meet the expense—except a balance which was owing for wine.

Citizen *Rochat* proposed and Citizen *Serraillier* seconded that the Council should pay the said balance of £4 5s. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* suggested that the Council should fix a programme for each sitting which should be kept to. It was absolutely necessary that the Conference report should be discussed. The Statutes[302] wanted reprinting, and there was a great deal of business [which] must not be delayed.

Citizen *Herman* said the correspondence ought to be read every night; what was wanted was a regular time at which business should be commenced.

Citizen *Engels* said that it would not be worthwhile reading the whole of the correspondence, [but] only when there was anything of importance to communicate.

Citizen *Bastelica* would withdraw his proposition relative to Avrial and Camélinat,* it had been postponed time after time upon false pretences.

Citizen *Engels* demanded the withdrawal of the words "false pretences": the Council never did anything under false pretences.

Citizen *Bastelica* did not use the words in the sense understood by Citizen Engels, but in the sense that the action taken was absurd: first it was to be considered, and then it was to be adjourned, and now a proposition was made to fix a different programme.

Citizen *Boon* said it would be advisable to hold an "Extraordinary, Special" meeting to get through the pressure of business. He would propose that the Council meet on Saturday the 7th inst. to receive and discuss the report of the Conference.

Citizen *Milner* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Serraillier* called attention to the fact that Citizen Robin had not attended the sitting though he knew the

* See p. 274 of the present volume. *Ed.*

discussion on his letter was to have come on.* He would bring the matter on again next week.

The Council adjourned at 11.40.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING*** [302]

*Held on Saturday Evening, October 6th***, 1871*[303]

Citizen *Marx* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Lessner*, *Marx*, *Martin*, *Le Moussu*, *Rochat*, *Serraillier*, *Vaillant*, and *Pfänder*.

The first business was the reception of certain written evidence which proved that a member of the International named Gustave Durand was a spy in the pay of the French police.

The evidence consisted of copies of the letters which had passed between the said spy and the police.

Citizen *Engels* proposed the following resolution:

The General Council having received full evidence that Gustave Durand, working jeweller of Paris, ex-delegate of the jewellers to the Federal Chamber of Paris Working Men,[304] ex-chief of Battalion of the National Guard, ex-chief cashier at the Delegation of Finance under the Commune, passing as a refugee in London, has served, and is now serving, as a spy for the French police upon the Communal refugees and especially upon the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, and has already received 725 francs for his services,—

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* See p. 278 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 299-301 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** A mistake; should be "7".—*Ed.*

The said Gustave Durand is therefore branded as infamous and expelled from the International Association.

This resolution to be published in all the organs of the International.[305]

Citizen *Vaillant* seconded the resolution.

Citizen *Serraillier* agreed with the resolution, but did not think it would be policy to make it public, and thus let the police know. It would be better to lead the police astray by using the tool.

Citizen *Frankel* said it would be better to exclude him publicly.

Citizen *Vaillant* said that Serraillier would be quite right if his idea could be carried but it could not, the refugees must be informed of Durand's treachery,

Citizen *Engels* thought the Council had no choice but to make the matter public, it having come officially before the Council.

Citizen *Martin* thought it would be better to bring Durand before a Council meeting and then confront him with the proofs of his infamy.

This suggestion met with general dissent and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The *Chairman** said it was too late to submit the report of the Conference as a whole. The Council might appoint a number of committees that were necessary to carry out certain suggestions of the Conference.

This was agreed to and the following committees were appointed, all the votes being unanimously carried.

Commission to blend the resolutions of Vaillant and Serraillier[306]: Citizens Engels, Martin, and Le Moussu.

Proposed by *Hales*, seconded by *Eccarius*.

Commission to prepare the new edition of the Statutes and resolutions: Citizens Marx, Jung, and Serraillier.

Proposed by *Engels*, seconded by *Vaillant*.

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* Marx.—*Ed.*

Commission to prepare stamps (contribution) and a new official stamp for the General Council: Citizens Le Moussu, Frankel, and Jung.

Proposed by *Hales*, seconded by *Engels*.

Delegated to draw up a declaration* declaring that the movement in Russia led by Nechayev had no connection with the International.** Citizen Marx.

Proposed by *Engels*, seconded by *Eccarius*.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *MINUTES OF MEETING****

*Held October 10th, 1871*[307]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Bradnick*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Harris*, *Hales*, *Herman*, *Jung*, *Le Moussu*, *Lessner*, *Lochner*, *Longuet*, *Marx*, *Martin*, *Milner*, *Pfänder*, *Rochat*, *Serraillier*, *Townshend*, and *Vaillant*.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the *Secretary* announced that the proposition for the election of Citizens Avrial and Camélinat stood first in the order of business.****

Citizen *Serraillier* said Citizens Bastelica and Theisz had informed him that they wished to withdraw the proposition because both Avrial and Camélinat belonged to the newly

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* Here originally the word "manifesto" was written and then crossed out.—*Ed.*

** See p. 298 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 301-05 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** See 274 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

formed French branch[308] which had framed a rule preventing its members from belonging to the General Council, except such as might be sent as delegates.

As no one supported the proposition, it fell through.

Citizen *Vaillant* said: at the previous meeting of the Council, it had honoured him by electing him to a Secretaryship,* but he could not accept it for the same reasons that induced him to decline the Secretaryship for Italy**; he begged to tender his resignation and would propose Citizen Le Moussu instead.

Citizen *Eccarius* said he thought Vaillant had as much time as he had and he had accepted a Secretaryship.

Citizen *Longuet* thought Vaillant had plenty of time, and he knew he had ability.

Citizen *Le Moussu* said Citizen Vaillant had spoken to him upon the subject of his resignation and had said he should propose him for the office, but he had replied that he was comparatively young in the Association, and did not possess sufficient experience to do the work.

Citizen *Frankel* said he thought the reasons given [were] not sufficient.

Citizen *Vaillant* said his reasons were that what ability he possessed he wished to devote to the cause in France; he thought it was there that his services could be most usefully employed.

Citizen *Martin* proposed and Citizen *Vaillant* seconded that the resignation be accepted. Carried by 9 to 7.

Citizen *Vaillant* then proposed and Citizen *Rochat* seconded that Citizen Le Moussu be appointed Secretary for the French-speaking sections in the United States; carried unanimously.

Citizen *Jung* proposed that the standing orders be suspended in order that Citizen Wróblewski might be elected

* See p. 286 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** See p. 283 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

a member of the Council at once; he afterwards intended to propose him for the vacant Secretaryship for Poland. It was necessary Poland should be represented.

Citizen *Frankel* had no objection to Citizen Wróblewski, but he did not approve of the proposition to suspend the standing orders, as some little unpleasant feeling had arisen relative to certain propositions which had not had the advantage of a suspension of standing orders.

Citizen *Eccarius* approved of a suspension of the standing orders for the same reason that urged him to propose their suspension in the case of Frankel.*

Citizen *Milner* thought the Council should proceed at once.

Citizen *Serraillier* said the Council was about to issue a new edition of the Statutes and some manifestoes and it was necessary that all the offices should be filled. At present there was no Secretary for Poland and it was necessary one should be appointed.

Citizen *Longuet* seconded the proposition: he said Wróblewski was well known not only for his services to the Commune, but for his previous devotion to principle.

The proposition was then put and carried with one dissentient.

Citizen *Jung* then proposed and Citizen *Longuet* seconded that Citizen Wróblewski become a member of the General Council. Carried unanimously.

The same citizens also proposed and seconded that Citizen Wróblewski should be Secretary for Poland. Carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* announced the opening of a branch at Middlesbrough which had a prospect of becoming a very successful one.

The *Secretary* called the attention of the Council to the fact that a report of the proceedings of the Conference had

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* See p. 263 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

appeared in the *Scotsman* newspaper, though it was decided it should not be reported. He had read the report in question and he felt certain that it was furnished by some one who had attended the Conference.

Citizen *Longuet* had also seen a report in the French newspapers translated from the *Cologne Gazette*.*

Citizens *Marx* and *Engels* said the report mentioned by Longuet was the same in substance as that in the *Scotsman*.[309]

Citizen *Marx* said it could not be tolerated that persons should be allowed to report proceedings after it was decided such should not be done. He would propose the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry.

Citizen *Frankel* seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Bradnick* said it would be advisable to appoint two English members and one Continental. He would propose Citizens Jung, Milner, and Harris.

Citizen *Martin* seconded and it was carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* called attention to the fact that the salary of the Secretary was not fixed. The proposition accepting his offer to do the work for 10s. per week for three months was ended inasmuch as the three months were expired.

Citizen *Engels* said the Secretary, having himself offered to do the work for 10s., should now state if he desired a different arrangement.

Citizen *Bradnick* thought the Council ought to deal with the question upon its merits, irrespective of the opinion of the Secretary.

Citizen *Martin* thought the work of reorganisation would increase the work of the Secretary.

Citizen *Serraillier* thought the establishment of an English Federal Council would lighten the work of the General Secretary.[310]

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* *Kölnische Zeitung.—Ed.*

Citizen *Harris* said the Secretary knew the work when he took the office, and he thought with Citizen Engels that it should remain as it was so far as salary was concerned though he did not approve of cheap labour.*

Citizen *Vaillant* said work badly paid for was usually badly executed, but he should like to know how the financial position of the Council stood.

Citizen *Hales* said he was not asking for a rise, but only asking them to fix the salary. He had made an offer which was accepted. That offer was ended, and the Council had to fix what it thought proper. With regard to the state of the finances, they were better than when he took office.

Citizen *Frankel* proposed and Citizen *Longuet* seconded that the salary of the Secretary be fixed at 15s. per week for the next three months. Carried with two dissentients.

Citizen *Marx* said he wished to say a word upon a point of order. It was three weeks since the sitting of the Conference and yet scarcely anything had been done. All the Federal Councils would be complaining, and with reason, of the delay in carrying out the work imposed by the Conference. He therefore proposed that an extraordinary sitting of the Council should be held on Saturday the 14th** inst. to receive the report of the Conference.

Citizen *Engels* seconded the resolution and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Serraillier* said the question relative to Robin must be discussed, and he asked that the resolution of the Conference on the subject be read, which was done. He then reminded the Conference*** that Robin asked for a Conference to discuss the Swiss disputes, and then he was

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* The words "though he did not approve of cheap labour" were inserted when the Minutes were being confirmed.—*Ed.*

** The extraordinary sitting was held on Monday, October 16, not on Saturday 14.- *Ed.*

*** A slip of the pen: should read "Council".—*Ed.*

told it was not of sufficient importance to warrant one being specially held and it was agreed that the matter should be left to the Conference; and when the matter was brought before the Conference he refused to recognise the commission which it had appointed to investigate the matter, he had since written a second letter, in which he attempted to justify himself and refused to withdraw his previous one.* He demanded his expulsion.

Citizen *Longuet* said if Serraillier had taken as much trouble to find an amicable settlement as he had to find fault with Robin, the matter might have been arranged; he thought Robin had partly apologised in offering to change a phrase in the letter.

Citizen *Marx* said he should not take part in the matter, but he would remind the Council that Robin wanted to fix all the blame upon Outine now [that] he knew Outine had left London.

Citizen *Milner* said it appeared to him that Robin would create nothing but disturbances so long as he was in the Council, and he thought the sooner he was out of it the better; it was monstrous that one man should be permitted to create strife continually.

Citizen *Frankel* proposed and Citizen *Hales* seconded the following resolution:

That Citizen Robin be requested to withdraw the letter he sent to the Conference without any qualification, and that a refusal on his part should be considered as his resignation.

Carried with four abstentions.

The Council adjourned at 12 o'clock.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

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* See p. 278 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

## *MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING**

*Held October 16th, 1871*[311]

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Johannard*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Le Moussu*, *Herman*, *Marx*, *Martin*, *Mottershead*, *Pfänder*, *Rochat*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney* and *Townshend*.

Citizen *Hales* announced that he had received a bill of exchange from the Federal Council of New York for £42 in answer to the appeal of the Council for the refugees. He had not announced it thinking the Council should take special action with regard to it, because the night before he received it, the Council had agreed by special vote to give £3 to pay the travelling expenses of a man who had been condemned to death at Lyons for participation in the Communist movement, but who had managed to escape and was hiding.**

Citizen *Marx* said that the money was asked for the special use of the Council and ought to be distributed by the Council.[312]

Citizen *Engels* proposed that the £42 be handed over to a committee of three consisting of Marx, Jung and Vaillant. Carried unanimously.

The proposition was seconded by Citizen *Townshend*.

The *Chairman* announced that he had received a letter from Bastelica, announcing his resignation as a member of the General Council, because the newly formed French branch had passed a rule forbidding any of its members from belonging to the General Council except such as were appointed as delegates; compelled to make a choice between the branch and the Council, he chose the branch.

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* The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 306-10 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 281-82 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Serraillier* said Bastelica had spoken with him upon the subject and he told him that the section could not be a section until it was admitted; moreover, the rule in question was contrary to the Statutes and could not be accepted. He therefore proposed that the resignation be accepted, it being an offence against the Council, it was a refusal to recognise the Rules.

Citizen *Engels* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously, it being understood that it was not to be accepted as a precedent accepting the theory laid down in the letter.

Citizen *Serraillier* handed in the rules of the newly formed French branch, and it was agreed that the same should be handed over to the Committee for the revision of the rules.[313]

Citizen *Marx* said the Council had appointed a Committee to blend the resolutions which Serraillier and Vaillant submitted to the Conference,* but there were still other commissions necessary, and the Council had also to decide as to what should be made public, and what should not; he then read the resolutions passed by the Conference relative to the composition of the Conference.** The first recommended the Council not to make too many additions to its number, and especially to take care and not to add too many of one nationality. The second invited the Council to extend the term of probation, between the proposition and election, to three weeks, so that sufficient time might be allowed to make inquiries. The third recommended the Council, before the usual times of elections, to invite the sections in different countries to suggest candidates for the respective Corresponding Secretaryships. The fourth approved of the additions, which the Council had made to its number from the Communal refugees.

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* See p. 289 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** A slip of the pen; should read "Council".—*Ed.*

They were all agreed to unanimously.[314]

Another resolution was also read in which the Conference declared its acceptance of the financial accounts presented by the General Council, but recommended the Council to adopt a better system of keeping its accounts in future.[315]

Citizen *Marx* then read the declaration which he had drawn up relative to Nechayev, and on the motion of Citizen *Hales*, seconded by Citizen *Eccarius*, it was adopted unanimously.[316]

It was as follows: "The Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association, assembled in London from the 17th to the 23rd of September 1871, has charged the General Council to declare publicly that Nechayev has never been a member or an agent of the International Working Men's Association; that his assertions to have founded a branch at Brussels. . ."*

The resolutions of the Conference were then agreed to, which advised the Council to issue addresses to the working men of France and of Italy, and a manifesto against the different governments which had prosecuted the members of the Association.[317]

It was then resolved that the circular to the different Federal Councils should be printed, except one part relating to internal administration.

Citizen *Mottershead* proposed and Citizen *Engels* seconded.

The appeal to the French working men, asking them to resist the despotic encroachments upon their rights, and announcing how they were to proceed with the work of organisation was, upon the motion of Citizen *Marx* seconded by *Frankel*, ordered to be printed.

The resolution recommending the London branches to establish a Federal Council for London which should

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* The entry is unfinished; for the full text of the declaration see p. 434 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

become the Federal Council for England,[318] upon receiving the adhesions of the provincial branches, was, upon the proposition of Citizen *Engels* seconded by Citizen *Lessner*, adopted unanimously.

The Council then proceeded with the resolutions dealing with questions of general organisation.

The one relative to special missions was adopted and ordered to be printed.[319]

Citizens *Frankel* and *Lessner* proposed and seconded.

The one relative to the formation of female sections was also ordered to be printed, as well as the one upon the question of furnishing statistics.[320]

With regard to the latter one Citizen *Frankel* remarked that many of the Continental sections complained that they never received the circular which was issued.

The following resolutions were also ordered to be printed after some little discussion had taken place:

Resolution relative to the right of the delegates of the General Council to enter meetings of any section.[321]

Resolution to agitate, in the agricultural districts, with a view to the formation of rural sections,[322] a proposition by *Frankel*, seconded by *Lessner*, to print this resolution in larger type being lost.

Resolution of the Conference leaving the General Council to fix the time and place of the Congress or Conference.[323]

The resolution relative to the assistance to be rendered to Trades Unions was amended, and ordered to be printed as amended.[324]

The question of printing the instruction the Conference gave to Outine relative to the Nechayev affair was deferred.[325]

The resolution upon "L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste" was ordered to be printed.[326]

Citizens Serraillier and Vaillant were appointed to draw up an address to the working men of France.

Proposition moved by *Le Moussu*, seconded by *Martin*.

Citizens Engels and Johannard were appointed to draw up an address to the working men of Italy.

Proposition moved by *Eccarius*, seconded by *Serraillier*.

Dr. Marx was appointed to prepare the circular embodying the resolutions.[327]

Proposition moved by *Mottershead*, seconded by *Engels*.

Citizen *Herman* proposed and Citizen *Marx* seconded that the resolutions not printed in the circular be communicated by the different Corresponding Secretaries to their respective sections. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* brought up and read the report of the Committee appointed to blend the resolutions of Serraillier and Vaillant.* He said the object [it] had in view was to blend in the clearest possible language the ideas running through the two resolutions. The Council could judge if the performance was equal to the intention.

The report [gave] general satisfaction, except one paragraph referring to the "militant state of the working class". It was thought by some members that it might be misunderstood, but after some discussion it was carried as brought up and ordered to be printed.[328]

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

*F. ENGELS*, Chairman

*JOHN HALES*, Secretary

## *COUNCIL MEETING***

*Held October 17th, 1871*

Citizen *Engels* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Boon*, *Bradnick*, *Buttery*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*,

* See p. 289 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 310-15 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*Jung*, *Lessner*, *Lochner*, *Longuet*, *Le Moussu*, *Marx*, *Martin*, *Mayo*, *Mac Donnell*, *Milner*, *Mottershead*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney* and *Townshend*, *Johannard*.

The Minutes of the meeting of October 10th having been read, Citizen *Harris* complained of an omission in the report of the speech made by him, and requested that the same should be rectified; this was done* and the Minutes were confirmed.

Citizens Chautard and Camélinat attend with credentials from the new French branch. They were informed that the matter would be discussed in their absence and they withdraw, it being agreed that the matter should be referred to the same Committee as the rules of the branch.**

The *Chairman* read a communication from Citizen Theisz, tendering his resignation as a member of the General Council; he thought it better for him to resign to make room for the delegates of the new French branch; he had nothing whatever to complain of in the conduct of the Council, and it might be assured of the support of himself under all circumstances.

Citizen *Serraillier* proposed and Citizen *Mottershead* seconded that the consideration of Citizen Theisz's resignation be postponed; he said the rules of the new French branch, which had impelled Citizen Theisz to resign, could not be accepted by the Council and would in all probability be rescinded by the branch, and Citizen Theisz might reconsider his determination.

The motion was carried unanimously.

The *Chairman* asked if the Secretary*** had communicated the resolution of the previous meeting to Citizen Robin.****

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* See p. 294 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** See p. 297 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** Hales.—*Ed.*

**** See p. 295 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* replied that he had not, as he did not know Robin's address, and could not write French.

Great dissatisfaction was manifested at this reply, and it was agreed that the resolution should be sent at once. Soon after, though, Citizen Robin entered the Council room, and the *Chairman* communicated the resolution to him.

Citizen *Robin* said the Council had no right to take a resignation that he did not give; it could turn him out if it liked, he should not withdraw the letter.

Citizen *Harris* proposed that Robin's case be reheard, fully heard, mark you.

Citizen *Delahaye* seconded the motion.

Citizen *Jung* opposed the motion: the matter had been discussed, and the Council had only to do its duty. He didn't say that Robin had insulted the Conference, but the Conference itself had said so, and had left the Council to deal with the matter.

Citizen *Serraillier* said Citizen Robin knew that the question was to be discussed at the previous meeting, and he was in town, yet he never came to it; had he been at his post, he would have had the trial—now asked for.

Citizen *Boon* said he didn't exactly understand the matter; if it was a personal affair it ought to be settled outside, if it was a Council matter he understood the Council had already dealt with it.

On being put to the vote three voted for the proposition, twelve against.

The *Chairman* announced the decision to Robin, who said resignation was a voluntary action which he should not take, and, further, that as a member of the Council he should stop in the room until the Council expelled him.

Citizen *Harris* said then he would propose that Citizen Robin be no longer considered a member of the Council.

Citizen *Jung* seconded the proposition.

Citizen *Delahaye* said the resolution did not meet the case at all. If Robin was not fit to be a member, the Council

ought to expel him; if he was not unfit, the resolution ought not to be passed.

Citizen *Frankel* said: at the previous meeting he was in favour of conciliation, but he was not after what he had heard from Robin. Robin had said the Council ought to have the courage to expel him; he had the courage and would demand his expulsion.

Citizen *Longuet* did not wish to take the action suggested by Delahaye; the Council certainly had the right to say that it considered a certain action as equivalent to a resignation, and it had adopted the resolution out of deference to Robin's feelings. It had no wish to stigmatize him as a dishonourable man, but if Robin insisted upon being expelled, he supposed the Council must do it.

Citizen *Delahaye* said: if there was a reason before for the proposition, there certainly was not one now as Robin had withdrawn the imputation against the Conference.

The proposition was then put to the vote and carried by five to four, the rest abstaining.

Citizen Robin then left the room.

Citizen *Marx* brought up the report of the Committee upon the rules of the new French branch. The Committee proposed that the General Council should confirm the statutes, except articles 2 and 12, which the Committee proposed should not be accepted as they were clearly contrary to the General Statutes. Article 2 required that every member should justify his means of existence, which was an old device of the ruling classes, and could not be accepted in the International Regulations. Article 12 provided that none of the members of the branch should be allowed to sit upon the General Council, except they should be sent as delegates from the branch. This was virtually saying that none of the members of the General Council should be allowed to become members of the branch and set up the authority of the branch as superior to that of the General Council, a thing that could not be tolerated. The branch

must be shown the illegality of the two articles and asked to rescind them.

Citizen *Frankel* said the way the resolution was understood was to be seen in the resignations of Bastelica and Theisz, he thought their names should be attached to the report.

Citizen *Serraillier* translated these remarks into English and said he saw no reason to attach the two names as suggested.

Citizen *Harris* asked the Chairman if the English members understood Serraillier's explanation.

The *Chairman* said if they did not they could state so for themselves; everyone had the right to ask questions themselves, but not for others.

Citizen *Herman* said the rules under discussion would make the branch everything and all France nothing. If the sections in France wished to nominate delegates to the General Council they could not [do so] without precluding them from joining the French branch.

Citizen *Longuet* did not understand the rules in that sense.

Citizen *Mottershead* said the members who did not understand the matter would be apt to think there was something deeper underneath; he wanted some further explanation before he could see his way clearly to vote upon the matter. If the four who had spoken had not done so, he should have voted at once for the report, but he saw from the debate that more explanation was needed.

Citizen *Longuet* said there had not been any debate; Citizen Marx had brought up a report that was no doubt strictly legal, but he thought the members of the branch did not see the force of their own rules, that was all.

Citizen *Mottershead* wanted to know if there was not something behind, he could not help being struck by the resignations of Theisz and Bastelica; he would ask if the branch was not a valuable one; he thought the matter might be compromised, without loss of principle.

Citizen *Marx* thought the way in which Citizen Mottershead had interfered in the matter was most injustifiable, he had not touched the report, but wanted to know what transpired in the tattle of the French branch. The Council had nothing to do with what transpired behind its back, but only with the rules.

Citizen *Eccarius* moved the adoption of the report.

Citizen *Martin* seconded it.

Citizen *Harris* thought perhaps the members of the French branch did not understand the meaning of their rules.

Citizen *Boon* said he thought he understood the matter—no branch had the right to override the General Statutes of an Association.

Citizen *Le Moussu* also spoke in favour of the report.

It was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.[329]

Citizen *Martin* read a communication from Vaillant resigning his membership upon the Distribution Committee; he did not approve of the appointment of the Committee.*

The resignation was accepted.

Citizen *Engels* reported the progress of the Association in Italy and Spain.[330]

Citizen *Eccarius* read a letter from the 12th section of New York.[331]

Citizen *Hales* communicated a letter from Galveston, Texas. Both were referred to the Standing Committee, which, as formerly it was decided, should be composed of all the officers.[332]

Citizen *Harris* thought all the correspondence should be read.

Citizen *Marx* announced that he had a report from the Slavonic Section of Zurich.[333]

Citizen *Herman* said he had received instructions to offer, on the part of the Belgian engineers, to enter into

* See p. 296 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

an alliance with the Amalgamated Engineers of Great Britain, for the purposes of mutual defence and assistance; he asked that a delegate might be elected to accompany him to the Council of the Engineers.

Citizen *Harris* proposed and Citizen *Boon* seconded that Citizen Eccarius be appointed.

Citizens *Jung* and *Hales* were opposed to an appointment being made, but Citizen Eccarius was elected to go.

Citizen *Marx* asked for authority to print the circular.*

Citizen *Boon* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that 500 copies be printed.[334] Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Boon* seconded that the report of the Committee upon the revision of the rules be placed first on the order of the day for the next sitting; carried unanimously.

Citizen *Boon* proposed that the following resolution stand upon the order of the day for that night month for discussion.[335]

Citizen *Milner* seconded the proposition "That in the opinion of this Council the time has now arrived for the formation of an international bureau and depository wherein the Internationals may deposit their worked-up products and receive for the same an International Note or Exchange Medium; such notes to be exchangeable among all the members of the International (and the public if they will accept them). Such a system of International Exchange based upon positive and exchangeable wealth (such as boots, clothing, watches, etc.) would be. . ."**

Citizen *Hales* proposed that its consideration be postponed indefinitely.

Citizen *Jung* seconded the amendment.

The amendment was lost and the proposition was carried by 10 to 5.

* See p. 300 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The entry is unfinished. For the full text of Boon's resolution see Note 335.—*Ed.*

Citizens *Martin* and *Longuet* also gave notice of motion. The Council adjourned at 12 o'clock.*

## *MINUTES OF MEETING***

*October 24th, 1871*

Citizen *Longuet* in the chair.

Members present: Citizens *Boon*, *Bradnick*, *Delahaye*, *Eccarius*, *Engels*, *Frankel*, *Hales*, *Harris*, *Herman*, *Jung*, *Lessner*, *Le Moussu*, *Johannard*, *Longuet*, *Marx*, *Martin*, *Mayo*, *Mac Donnell*, *Pfänder*, *Roach*, *Rochat*, *Rühl*, *Serraillier*, *Stepney*, *Townshend*, *Vaillant* and *Wróblewski*.

The Minutes of the two previous meetings having been read and confirmed, Citizen *Marx* brought up the report of the Rules Revision Committee.

The report was adopted unanimously without discussion, and Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Johannard* seconded that 5,000 copies be printed and that the printer be instructed to let the type stand.[336] Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Engels* proposed that Truelove be the printer employed.

Citizen *Marx* said whoever printed them, it must be understood that the whole issue was to be property of the Council.

Citizen *Harris* would suggest that members or persons whom members should guarantee should have as many copies as they wished, upon signing for them.

Citizen *Jung* thought if it could be done, the work should be given to the refugees.

Citizen *Engels* thought they would not be able to do it; it was a question of quickness.

Citizen *Johannard* said the Council ought to see if they could do it, before it was given to any one else.

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Hales's hand on pp. 315-17 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Eccarius* said usually more trouble ensued when small printers were employed.

Citizen *Hales* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that the question as to who should be employed should be left to the Revision Committee.

Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* said as Theisz had not withdrawn his resignation it was absolutely necessary to appoint another Treasurer, as the name of the Treasurer would have to be printed—he would propose that Citizen Jung be appointed Treasurer.

Citizen *Serraillier* seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The *Secretary** read a letter which he had received from Citizen Robin asking for a copy of the Minutes relating to his exclusion.

Citizen *Boon* thought it ought to be sent.

Citizen *Jung* was opposed to anything of the kind.

Citizen *Frankel* proposed that the Council proceed to the order of the day.

Citizen *Johannard* seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* read a letter from the Secretary of the Sunday League asking for immediate payment of arrears of rent, and complaining of the room being used on Saturday evenings.[337]

It was resolved that the whole of the rent owing should be paid, and the Committee which had been previously appointed was instructed to report to the next meeting as to its success in finding another room.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Malon announcing that the refugees in Geneva had formed a branch of the International and asked that the General Council should admit

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* Hales.—*Ed.*

it as such, and as it was the third letter sent, an early reply was requested.[338]

Citizen* explained that owing to the pressure of business in the Council, he had not been able to bring the matter on, but in accordance with the Rules he had written to the Federal Council of Geneva, informing them of the fact and asking for information, but as yet he had not received an answer.

Citizen *Johannard* thought if there was nothing in their rules that was contrary to the Statutes, the section should be admitted.

Citizen *Serraillier* said: according to the Rules, all new sections ought in the first instance to apply to the Federal Council of the country. Besides, purely nationality branches could not be formed, language-speaking branches might be formed, but [not] nationality branches.

Citizen *Marx*: sections had the right to correspond direct with the General Council, but the Council must first write to the Federal Council. Citizen Jung had better write again to the Federal Council.

Citizen *Jung* agreed to do so.

Citizen *Harris* proposed and Citizen *Martin* seconded that Citizen Jung should write to the sections informing them of his communication to the Federal Council of Geneva. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Serraillier* said that it was the opinion of himself and Citizen *Vaillant* that it would be better to postpone the issuing of the address to the working men of France,** as it might prejudice the cases of the Communist prisoners.

It was agreed that it should be postponed.

Citizen *Herman* announced that owing to his being unable to obtain work he should be compelled to return to

* No name; the reference is apparently to Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland.—*Ed.*

** See p. 298 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Belgium for a time, but he should still like to continue Secretary for Belgium; he would send reports at regular intervals, and some one might be appointed to act for him on the Council.

Citizen *Rochat* has consented to act for Citizen Herman as suggested.

The Council agreed to Citizen Herman's request.

Citizen *Herman* also announced that the engineers of Ghent had been locked-out—to the number of 250—and they wished subscriptions to be got for them in England.

The matter was referred to Citizens Eccarius and Herman, who were to wait upon the Council of the Engineers on the next evening.

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

*H. JUNG*, Chairman

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS
OF
KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

## *MEETING OF SUB-COMMITTEE OF GENERAL COUNCIL*

*11th June, 1871, at 122, Regent's Park Road**

The Sub-Committee had been called to consider the propriety of issuing a reply to Jules Favre's Circular of June 6th respecting the International.[339]

Present Citizens *Eccarius, Engels, Marx, Hales* and *Weston.*

Citizen *Weston* was appointed to the Chair and Citizen *Engels* secretary of the meeting.

Citizen *Engels* read a draft reply which was adopted unanimously.

It was also resolved unanimously to send this reply to all the daily papers of London.

The Minutes of the meeting were read and adopted unanimously.

*F. ENGELS*

*JOHN WESTON*

Written by Engels

Published for the first time in the original

* Engels's home address.—*Ed.*

*KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS*

## PROPOSITIONS TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL CONCERNING PREPARATIONS FOR THE LONDON CONFERENCE[340]

Rechnungsablage.

1) To find a room for the meetings of the Conference.

2) To find an hotel where the members of the Conference can stay—propose the same as last, Leicester Square.

3) A Committee to be appointed to arrange these two points.

4) That the entire Council assist at the meetings of the Conference, with the right of taking part in the debate, but that a certain number of the Council only be delegated with the right of voting—such number to be fixed by the Council* when the number of delegates to the Conference shall be known.

5) That the Frenchmen, now resident in London who are acknowledged members of the International, provide for the representation of France at the Conference by three delegates.

6) That if the members of any Country should not be represented at the Conference, the Corresponding Secretary for that Country be appointed to represent them.

Written by Engels

Published for the first time in the original

* The words "by the Council" are in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

*KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS*

## PROPOSITIONS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL[341]

**1).** 1) That after the close of the Conference, no branch be acknowledged as belonging to the Association by the General Council and by the Central Councils of the various countries until its annual contribution of 1d. per head for the current year shall have been remitted to the General Council.

**2).** 2) **L**) For those countries in which the regular organisation of the Association may for the moment become impossible by Government interference, the delegates of each Country are invited to propose such plans of organisation as may be compatible with the peculiar circumstances of the Case; **N**) the Association may be reformed under other names; J) but all secret organisations are formally excluded.

**3).** 3) The General Council will submit to the Conference a report of its administration of the affairs of the International since the last Congress.

**5).** 5) The General Council will propose to the Conference to discuss the propriety of issuing a reply to the various governments which have prosecuted and are now prosecuting the International; the Conference to name a Committee to be charged with drawing up this reply after its close.

4). 4) *Resolution of Congress of Basle to be enforced*: That to avoid confusion the Central Councils of the various countries be instructed to designate themselves henceforth as *Federal Councils* with the name attached of the Country they represent; and that the local branches and their Committees designate themselves as branches or Committees of their respective localities.

6). 6)*

3). 7) That all delegates of the General Council appointed to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal Councils and local Committees or branches, without however being thereby entitled to vote thereat.

8) That the General Council be instructed to issue a fresh edition of the Statutes including the resolutions of the Congresses having relation thereto; and in as much as a mutilated French translation has hitherto been in circulation in France, and re-translated into Spanish and Italian, that it provide an authentic French translation which is to be forwarded to Spain and Italy also. German—[to] Holland.

*Three languages printed side by side.*

Written by Engels, with additions made by Marx, about September 9, 1871

Published for the first time in the original

* Further the following is crossed out in the MS: "That in all Countries where the Association is regularly organised, the Federal Councils send regular reports of the amounts levied and received in the shape of local or district contributions."—*Ed.*

## *MEETING OF SUB-COMMITTEE*

*9th September [1871], 8 o'clock*

*Longuet* in the Chair.

*Marx* proposes that as to *Landeck* the General Council has nothing to do with the question [whether] he still belongs to the International or not, and that he be referred to the French Internationals in London to settle this. Landeck has, on the trial of the International in Paris, eaten humble pie and promised not to belay to the International in future[342]; but such questions cannot be settled by the Council.

*Mottershead* seconds.

Carried unanimously.

*The Conference. Marx*: a Conference is not composed of delegates of branches but of delegates of *countries* which come to confer *with* the Council under extraordinary circumstances and [is] therefore very different from a Congress and has quite different powers. This has not to be forgotten. The first question will be 1) the *money* questions, the contributions have not come in as they ought to do. The Conference has no power to change the Statutes but it can enforce them. Therefore proposition No. 1: branches to pay before admittance.*

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* Further the words "except force majeure" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

*Jung* seconds. Adopted unanimously.

*Marx*: 2) (Countries where the International is suppressed to propose their own plans, and to be allowed other names, but *not secret*.)

*Eccarius* seconds. Adopted unanimously.

*Marx*: 3) That some members be appointed to draw up the Report of Council to be submitted to Conference for last 2 years. Adopted as a matter of course.

*Jung* proposes,* *Eccarius* seconds, Marx to draw up the Report.

*Marx*: 4) To enforce the resolution of Congress of Basle that the Central Council to be called Federal Council, etc., etc.

*Serraillier* seconds. Adopted unanimously.

*Marx*: 5) Reply to be issued to different governments to be drawn up afterwards.

*Engels* seconds. Adopted unanimously.

6)** In regularly organised countries regular reports of local and district taxation to be sent in.

This is withdrawn by Marx himself.

*Marx*: 7) All delegates of General Council to have the right to attend and be heard at meetings of district Councils and local branches.

*Serraillier* seconds. Adopted unanimously.

*Marx*: 8) General Council to issue the fresh edition of Statutes and authentic French and German version, printed side by side; and*** all other countries to have their translations approved by General Council before publishing.

*Jung* seconds. Adopted unanimously.

*Mottershead*: That the Conference be asked to charge the General Council with enforcing Art. V. of the Statutes

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* Here the words "Longuet seconds" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

** In the MS, before the figure "6)", the name of Marx is crossed out.—*Ed.*

*** Here the word "Spain" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

relative to a general statistics of the working classes and the resolution of the Congress of Geneva on the same subject. To carry this out it might be resolved that trades unions, etc., who refuse to give the information required, shall not be supported by the General Council in case of strike.

*Mac Donnell* seconds. Adopted unanimously!

*Marx*: That the Sub-Committee meets at 8 at Marx's on Monday evening.

Adopted.

Written by Engels

Published for the first time in the original

## *MEETING OF SUB-COMMITTEE*

*Monday, 11th September, 1871, at 1 [o'clock], Maitland Park*

*Serraillier* in the Chair.

*Engels* appointed secretary.

Proposed by *Engels,* seconded by *Hales*, that the Bill of Truelove £25 11. 6. be passed, reserving the question of the price of the handbills and the 5th thousand copies.* Adopted unanimously.

Proposed by *Engels*, seconded by *Eccarius*: That Mr. Truelove be paid £10 on account and the payment of the rest be delayed until he shall have handed in an account of copies sold. Adopted unanimously.

Proposed by *Marx*, seconded by *Longuet*: That the General Council be requested, to avoid all misunderstandings, to declare at the opening of the Conference: that a Conference is nothing but a meeting of delegates of various countries called to consult and decide together with the General Council on administrative measures rendered necessary by extraordinary circumstances.

*Hales* proposes, *Longuet* seconds: That the General Council recommend the formation of an English Federal Council. Withdrawn to be submitted to General Council tomorrow.

*Marx* proposes, *Jung* seconds: That the formation of working women's sections be recommended.

Written by Engels

Published for the first time in the original

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* Of the address *The Civil War in France*.—*Ed.*

# DOCUMENTS
# OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
# OF THE INTERNATIONAL
# WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

# FIRST ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR[343]

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

In the Inaugural Address of the *International Working Men's Association*, of November, 1864, we said:—"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?". We defined the foreign policy aimed at by the International in these words: "Vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the laws paramount of the intercourse of nations."[344]

No wonder that Louis Bonaparte, who usurped his power by exploiting the war of classes in France, and perpetuated it by periodical wars abroad, should from the first have treated the International as a dangerous foe. On the eve of the plebiscite he ordered a raid on the members of the Administrative Committees of the International Working Men's Association throughout France, at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Brest, etc., on the pretext that the International was a secret society dabbling in a complot for his

assassination, a pretext soon after exposed in its full absurdity by his own judges.[345] What was the real crime of the French branches of the International? They told the French people publicly and emphatically that voting the plebiscite was voting despotism at home and war abroad. It has been, in fact, their work that in all the great towns, in all the industrial centres of France, the working class rose like one man to reject the plebiscite. Unfortunately the balance was turned by the heavy ignorance of the rural districts. The Stock Exchanges, the Cabinets, the ruling classes and the press of Europe celebrated the plebiscite as a signal victory of the French Emperor over the French working class; and it was the signal for the assassination, not of an individual, but of nations.

The war plot of July, 1870, is but an amended edition of the *coup d'état* of December, 1851.[346] At first view the thing seemed so absurd that France would not believe in its real good earnest. It rather believed the deputy* denouncing the ministerial war talk as a mere stock-jobbing trick. When, on July 15th, war was at last officially announced to the *Corps Législatif*, the whole opposition refused to vote the preliminary subsidies, even Thiers branded it as "detestable"; all the independent journals of Paris condemned it, and, wonderful to relate, the provincial press joined in almost unanimously.

Meanwhile, the Paris members of the International had again set to work. In the *Réveil*[347] of July 12th they published their manifesto "to the workmen of all nations", from which we extract the following few passages:

"Once more," they say, "on the pretext of the European equilibrium, of national honour, the peace of the world is menaced by political ambitions. French, German, Spanish workmen! Let our voices unite in one cry of reprobation against war!... War for a question of preponderance or a dynasty, can, in the eyes of workmen, be nothing but

* Jules Favre.—*Ed.*

a criminal absurdity. In answer to the warlike proclamations of those who exempt themselves from the impost of blood, and find in public misfortunes a source of fresh speculations, we protest, we who want peace, labour and liberty!... Brothers of Germany! Our division would only result in the complete triumph *of despotism* on both sides of the Rhine.... Workmen of all countries! Whatever may for the present become of our common efforts, we, the members of the International Working Men's Association, who know of no frontiers, we send you as a pledge of indissoluble solidarity the good wishes and the salutations of the workmen of France."

This manifesto of our Paris section was followed by numerous similar French addresses, of which we can here only quote the declaration of Neuilly-sur-Seine, published in the *Marseillaise*[348] of July 22nd:

"The war, is it just?—No! The war, is it national?—No! It is merely dynastic. In the name of humanity, of democracy, and the true interests of France, we adhere completely and energetically to the protestation of the International against the war."

These protestations expressed the true sentiments of the French working people, as was soon shown by a curious incident. *The Band of the 10th of December*, first organised under the presidency of Louis Bonaparte, having been masqueraded into *blouses* and let loose on the streets of Paris, there to perform the contortions of war fever,[349] the real workmen of the Faubourgs came forward with public peace demonstrations so overwhelming that Pietri, the Prefect of Police, thought it prudent to at once stop all further street politics, on the plea that the real Paris people had given sufficient vent to their pent up patriotism and exuberant war enthusiasm.

Whatever may be the incidents of Louis Bonaparte's war with Prussia, the death knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Bonaparte to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire*.

On the German side, the war is a war of defence, but who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself? Who enabled Louis Bonaparte to wage war upon her? *Prussia*! It was Bismarck who conspired with that very same Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home, and annexing Germany to the Hohenzollern dynasty. If the battle of Sadowa[350] had been lost instead of being won, French battalions would have overrun Germany as the allies of Prussia. After her victory did Prussia dream one moment of opposing a free Germany to an enslaved France? Just the contrary. While carefully preserving all the native beauties of her old system, she superadded all the tricks of the Second Empire, its real despotism and its mock democratism, its political shams and its financial jobs, its high-flown talk and its low *leger-demains*. The Bonapartist regime, which till then only flourished on one side of the Rhine, had now got its counterfeit on the other. From such a state of things, what else could result but *war*?

If the German working class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character and to degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous. All the miseries that befell Germany after her war of independence will revive with accumulated intensity.

The principles of the International are, however, too widely spread and too firmly rooted amongst the German working class to apprehend such a sad consummation. The voices of the French workmen have re-echoed from Germany. A mass meeting of workmen, held at Brunswick on July 16th, expressed its full concurrence with the Paris manifesto, spurned the idea of national antagonism to France, and wound up its resolutions with these words:

"We are enemies of all wars, but above all of dynastic wars.... With deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil; but we call, at the same time, upon the whole

German working class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power to decide on peace and war, and making them masters of their own destinies."

At Chemnitz, a meeting of delegates representing 50,000 Saxon workers adopted unanimously a resolution to this effect:

"In the name of the German Democracy, and especially of the workmen forming the Democratic Socialist Party, we declare the present war to be exclusively dynastic.... We are happy to grasp the fraternal hand stretched out to us by the workmen of France.... Mindful of the watchword of the International Working Men's Association: *Proletarians of all countries, unite*, we shall never forget that the workmen of *all* countries are our *friends* and the despots of *all* countries our *enemies*."[351]

The Berlin branch of the International has also replied to the Paris manifesto:

"We," they say, "join with heart and hand your protestation.... Solemnly we promise that neither the sound of the trumpet, nor the roar of the cannon, neither victory nor defeat shall divert us from our common work for the union of the children of toil of all countries."

Be it so!

In the background of this suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign that the signal for the present war should have been given at the moment when the Moscovite Government had just finished its strategical lines of railway and was already massing troops in the direction of the Pruth. Whatever sympathy the Germans may justly claim in a war of defence against Bonapartist aggression, they would forfeit at once by allowing the Prussian Government to call for, or accept, the help of the Cossacks. Let them remember that, after their war of independence against the first Napoleon, Germany lay for generations prostrate at the feet of the Czar.

The English working class stretch the hand of fellowship

to the French and German working people. They feel deeply convinced that whatever turn the impending horrid war may take, the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war. The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and goodwill; this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose International rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour*! The Pioneer of that new society is the International Working Men's Association.

* * *

The General Council:

*APPLEGARTH, ROBERT*
*BOON, MARTIN J.*
*BRADNICK, FRED.*
*STEPNEY, COWELL*
*HALES, JOHN*
*HALES, WILLIAM*
*HARRIS, GEORGE*
*LESSNER, FRED.*
*LINTERN, W.*
*LEGREULIER*
*MAURICE, ZÉVY*
*MILNER, GEORGE*
*MOTTERSHEAD, THOMAS*
*MURRAY, CHARLES*
*ODGER, GEORGE*
*PARNELL, JAMES*
*PFÄNDER*
*RÜHL*
*SHEPHERD, JOSEPH*
*STOLL*
*SCHMUTZ*
*TOWNSHEND, W.*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*EUGÈNE DUPONT*, for France
*KARL MARX*, for Germany

*A. SERRAILLIER*, for Belgium, Holland and Spain
*HERMANN JUNG*, for Switzerland
*GIOVANNI BORA*, for Italy
*ANTON ZABICKI*, for Poland
*JAMES COHEN*, for Denmark
*J. G. ECCARIUS*, for United States

*BENJAMIN LUCRAFT*, Chairman
*JOHN WESTON*, Treasurer
*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, General Secretary

*Office:* 256, High Holborn, W.C.,
*July 23rd, 1870*

Written by Karl Marx
between July 19 and 23, 1870

Published as a leaflet in English in July 1870, as well as in the form of leaflets and in periodicals in German, French and Russian in August-September 1870

Printed according to the text of the English leaflet

## BRIEF AN DEN AUSSCHUSS DER SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEN ARBEITERPARTEI*[352]

... Die Militärkamarilla, Professorschaft, Bürgerschaft und Wirtshauspolitik gibt vor, dies** sei das Mittel, Deutschland auf ewig vor Krieg mit Frankreich zu schützen. Es ist umgekehrt das probateste Mittel, diesen Krieg in eine *europäische Institution* zu verwandeln. Es ist in der Tat das sicherste Mittel, den Militärdespotismus in dem verjüngten Deutschland zu verewigen als eine Notwendigkeit zur Behauptung eines *westlichen Polens*, des Elsaß und Lothringens. Es ist das unfehlbarste Mittel, den kommenden Frieden in einen bloßen Waffenstillstand zu verwandeln, bis Frankreich so weit erholt ist, um das verlorene Terrain herauszuverlangen. Es ist das unfehlbarste Mittel, Deutschland und Frankreich durch wechselseitige Selbstzerfleischung zu ruinieren.

Die Schufte und Narren, welche diese Garantien für den ewigen Frieden entdeckt haben, sollten doch aus der preußischen Geschichte wissen, aus Napoleons Pferdekur im Tilsiter Frieden[353], wie solche Gewaltmaßregeln zur Stillmachung eines lebensfähigen Volkes gerade das Gegenteil des beabsichtigten Zweckes bewirken. Und was ist Frankreich, selbst nach Verlust von Elsaß und Lothringen, verglichen mit Preußen nach dem Tilsiter Frieden!

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* See Appendix, pp. 473-75.—*Ed.*

** The reference is to the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.—*Ed.*

Wenn der französische Chauvinismus, solange die *altstaatlichen* Verhältnisse dauern, eine gewisse materielle Rechtfertigung hatte in der Tatsache, daß seit 1815 die Hauptstadt Paris und damit Frankreich nach wenigen verlorenen Schlachten preisgegeben war — welche neue Nahrung wird er nicht erst saugen, sobald die Grenze östlich an den Vogesen und nördlich an Metz liegt?

Daß die Lothringer und Elsasser die Segnungen *deutscher* Regierung wünschen, wagt selbst der enragierteste* Teutone nicht zu behaupten. Es ist das Prinzip des Pangermanismus und „sicherer" Grenzen, das proklamiert wird und das von östlicher Seite zu schönen Resultaten für Deutschland und Europa führen würde!

Wer nicht ganz vom Geschrei des Augenblicks übertäubt ist oder ein *Interesse* hat, das deutsche Volk zu übertäuben, muß einsehen, daß der Krieg von 1870 ganz so notwendig einen *Krieg zwischen Deutschland und Rußland* im Schoße trägt, wie der Krieg von 1866 den Krieg von 1870.

Ich sage *notwendig, unvermeidlich*, außer im unwahrscheinlichen Falle eines vorherigen Ausbruches einer *Revolution in Rußland.*

Tritt dieser unwahrscheinliche Fall nicht ein, so muß der Krieg zwischen Deutschland und Rußland schon jetzt als un *fait accompli* (eine vollendete Tatsache) behandelt werden.

Es hängt ganz vom jetzigen Verhalten der deutschen Sieger ab, ob dieser Krieg nützlich oder schädlich.

Nehmen sie Elsaß und Lothringen, so wird Frankreich mit Rußland Deutschland bekriegen. Es ist überflüssig, die unheilvollen Folgen zu deuten.

Schließen sie einen ehrenvollen Frieden mit Frankreich, so wird jener Krieg Europa von der moskowitischen Diktatur emanzipieren, Preußen in Deutschland aufgehen

* This word, replaced in the leaflet by dots, was inserted by Engels in his copy of the leaflet.—*Ed.*

machen, dem westlichen Kontinent friedliche Entwicklung erlauben, endlich der russischen sozialen Revolution, deren Elemente nur eines solchen Stoßes von außen zur Entwicklung bedürfen, zum Durchbruch helfen, also auch dem russischen Volke zugute kommen.

*Aber ich fürchte, die Schufte und Narren werden ihr tolles Spiel ungehindert treiben, wenn die deutsche Arbeiterklasse nicht en masse ihre Stimme erhebt.*

Der jetzige Krieg eröffnet dadurch eine neue weltgeschichtliche Epoche, daß Deutschland bewiesen hat, daß es selbst mit Ausschluß von Deutsch-Österreich fähig ist, *unabhängig vom Auslande,* seine eigenen Wege zu gehen. Daß es zunächst seine *Einheit* in der *preußischen Kaserne* findet, ist eine Strafe, die es reichlich verdient hat. Aber *ein* Resultat ist selbst so unmittelbar gewonnen. Die kleinlichen Lumpereien, wie z. B. der Konflikt zwischen nationälliberalen Norddeutschen und volksparteilichen Süddeutschen[354], werden nicht länger nutzlos im Wege stehen. Die Verhältnisse werden sich auf großem Maßstab entwickeln und vereinfachen. Wenn die deutsche Arbeiterklasse dann nicht die ihr zukommende historische Rolle spielt, ist es ihre Schuld. *Dieser Krieg hat den Schwerpunkt der kontinentalen Arbeiterbewegung von Frankreich nach Deutschland verlegt.* Damit haftet größere Verantwortlichkeit auf der deutschen Arbeiterklasse...

Written by Marx and Engels between August 22 and 30, 1870

Included in the text of the manifesto of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party printed in leaflet form on September 5, 1870, and in the newspaper *Der Volksstaat* No. 73, September 11, 1870

Printed according to the copy of the leaflet containing Engels's remarks

# SECOND ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION ON THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR[355]

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

In our first Manifesto of the 23rd of July we said:—"The death knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Napoleon to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire*."*

Thus, even before war operations had actually set in, we treated the Bonapartist bubble as a thing of the past.

If we were not mistaken as to the vitality of the Second Empire, we were not wrong in our apprehension lest the German war should "lose its strictly defensive character and degenerate into a war against the French people".** The war of defence ended, in point of fact, with the surrender of Louis Bonaparte, the Sedan capitulation, and the proclamation of the Republic at Paris. But long before these events, the very moment that the utter rottenness of

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* See p. 325 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** See p. 326 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

the Imperialist arms became evident, the Prussian military *camarilla* had resolved upon conquest. There lay an ugly obstacle in their way—*King William's own proclamations at the commencement of the war.* In his speech from the throne to the North German Diet, he had solemnly declared to make war upon the emperor of the French, and not upon the French people. On the 11th of August he had issued a manifesto to the French nation, where he said:

"The Emperor Napoleon having made, by land and sea, an attack on the German nation, which desired and still desires to live in peace with the French people, I have assumed the command of the German armies *to repel his aggression*, and I have been led by *military events to cross the frontiers of France.*"

Not content to assert the defensive character of the war by the statement that he only assumed the command of the German armies "*to repel aggression*", he added that he was only "led by military events" to cross the frontiers of France. A defensive war does, of course, not exclude offensive operations dictated by "military events".

Thus this pious king stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge? The stage-managers had to exhibit him as giving, reluctantly, way to the irresistible behest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen, and its penmen. That middle class which in its struggle for civil liberty had, from 1846 to 1870, been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity, and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to bestride the European scene as the roaring lion of German patriotism. It revindicated its civic independence by affecting to force upon the Prussian Government the secret designs of that same government. It does penance for its long-continued and almost religious faith in Louis Bonaparte's infallibility, by shouting for the dismemberment of

the French Republic. Let us for a moment listen to the special pleadings of those stout-hearted patriots!

They dare not pretend that the people of Alsace and Lorraine pant for the German embrace; quite the contrary. To punish their French patriotism, Strasbourg, a town with an independent citadel commanding it, has for six days been wantonly and fiendishly bombarded by "German" explosive shells, setting it on fire, and killing great numbers of its defenceless inhabitants! Yet, the soil of those provinces once upon a time belonged to the whilom German Empire. Hence, it seems, the soil and the human beings grown on it must be confiscated as imprescriptible German property. If the map of Europe is to be remade in the antiquary's vein, let us by no means forget that the Elector of Brandenburg, for his Prussian dominions, was the vassal of the Polish Republic.[356]

The more knowing patriots, however, require Alsace and the German-speaking part of Lorraine as a "material guarantee" against French aggression. As this contemptible plea has bewildered many weak-minded people, we are bound to enter more fully upon it.

There is no doubt that the general configuration of Alsace, as compared with the opposite bank of the Rhine, and the presence of a large fortified town like Strasbourg, about halfway between Basle and Germersheim, very much favour a French invasion of South Germany, while they offer peculiar difficulties to an invasion of France from South Germany. There is, further, no doubt that the addition of Alsace and German-speaking Lorraine would give South Germany a much stronger frontier, inasmuch as she would then be master of the crest of the Vosges mountains in its whole length, and of the fortresses which cover its northern passes. If Metz were annexed as well, France would certainly for the moment be deprived of her two principal bases of operation against Germany, but that would not prevent her from constructing a fresh one at

Nancy or Verdun. While Germany owns Coblenz, Mainz, Germersheim, Rastatt, and Ulm, all bases of operation against France, and plentifully made use of in this war, with what show of fair play can she begrudge France Strasbourg and Metz, the only two fortresses of any importance she has on that side? Moreover, Strasbourg endangers South Germany only while South Germany is a separate power from North Germany. From 1792-95 South Germany was never invaded from that direction, because Prussia was a party to the war against the French Revolution; but as soon as Prussia made a peace of her own in 1795,[357] and left the South to shift for itself, the invasions of South Germany, with Strasbourg for a base, began, and continued till 1809. The fact is, a *united* Germany can always render Strasbourg and any French army in Alsace innocuous by concentrating all her troops, as was done in the present war, between Saarlouis and Landau, and advancing, or accepting battle, on the line of road between Mainz and Metz. While the mass of the German troops is stationed there, any French army advancing from Strasbourg into South Germany would be outflanked, and have its communications threatened. If the present campaign has proved anything, it is the facility of invading France from Germany.

But, in good faith, is it not altogether an absurdity and an anachronism to make military considerations the principle by which the boundaries of nations are to be fixed? If this rule were to prevail, Austria would still be entitled to Venetia and the line of the Mincio, and France to the line of the Rhine, in order to protect Paris, which lies certainly more open to an attack from the North East than Berlin does from the South West. If limits are to be fixed by military interests, there will be no end to claims, because every military line is necessarily faulty, and may be improved by annexing some more outlying territory; and, moreover, they can never be fixed finally and fairly, because

they always must be imposed by the conqueror upon the conquered, and consequently carry within them the seed of fresh wars.

Such is the lesson of all history. Thus with nations as with individuals. To deprive them of the power of offence, you must deprive them of the means of defence. You must not only garrotte but murder. If ever conqueror took "material guarantees" for breaking the sinews of a nation, the first Napoleon did so by the Tilsit treaty, and the way he executed it against Prussia and the rest of Germany. Yet, a few years later, his gigantic power split like a rotten reed upon the German people. What are the "material guarantees" Prussia, in her wildest dreams, can, or dare impose upon France, compared to the "material guarantees" the first Napoleon had wrenched from herself? The result will not prove the less disastrous. History will measure its retribution, not by the extent of the square miles conquered from France, but by the intensity of the crime of reviving, in the second half of the 19th century, *the policy of conquest*!

But, say the mouthpieces of Teutonic patriotism, you must not confound Germans with Frenchmen. What *we* want is not glory, but safety. The Germans are an essentially peaceful people. In their sober guardianship, conquest itself changes from a condition of future war into a pledge of perpetual peace. Of course, it is not Germans that invaded France in 1792, for the sublime purpose of bayonetting the revolution of the 18th century. It is not Germans that befouled their hands by the subjugation of Italy, the oppression of Hungary, and the dismemberment of Poland. Their present military system, which divides the whole adult male population into two parts—one standing army on service, and another standing army on furlough, both equally bound in passive obedience to rulers by divine right—such a military system is, of course, a "material guarantee" for keeping the peace, and the ultimate goal of civilising

tendencies! In Germany, as everywhere else, the sycophants of the powers that be poison the popular mind by the incense of mendacious self-praise.

Indignant as they pretend to be at the sight of French fortresses in Metz and Strasbourg, those German patriots see no harm in the vast system of Moscovite fortifications at Warsaw, Modlin, and Ivangorod. While gloating at the terrors of imperialist invasion, they blink at the infamy of autocratic tutelage.

As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gorchakov and Bismarck.[358] As Louis Bonaparte flattered himself that the war of 1866, resulting in the common exhaustion of Austria and Prussia, would make him the supreme arbiter of Germany, so Alexander flattered himself that the war of 1870, resulting in the common exhaustion of Germany and France, would make him the supreme arbiter of the Western Continent. As the Second Empire thought the North German Confederation incompatible with its existence, so autocratic Russia must think herself endangered by a German empire under Prussian leadership. Such is the law of the old political system. Within its pale the gain of one state is the loss of the other. The Czar's paramount influence over Europe roots in his traditional hold on Germany. At a moment when in Russia herself volcanic social agencies threaten to shake the very base of autocracy, could the Czar afford to bear with such a loss of foreign prestige? Already the Moscovite journals repeat the language of the Bonapartist journals after the war of 1866. Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of her arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a dismemberment of France, there will then only remain two courses open to her. She must at all risks become the *avowed* tool of Russian aggrandisement, or, after

some short respite, make again ready for another "defensive" war, not one of those new-fangled "localised" wars, but a *war of races*—a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races.

The German working class has resolutely supported the war, which it was not in their power to prevent, as a war for German independence and the liberation of France and Europe from that pestilential incubus, the Second Empire. It was the German workmen who, together with the rural labourers, furnished the sinews and muscles of heroic hosts, leaving behind their half-starved families. Decimated by the battles abroad, they will be once more decimated by misery at home. In their turn they are now coming forward to ask for "guarantees",—guarantees that their immense sacrifices have not been brought in vain, that they have conquered liberty, that the victory over the Imperialist armies will not, as in 1815, be turned into the defeat of the German people[359]; and, as the first of these guarantees, they claim an *honourable peace for France*, and the *recognition of the French Republic*.

The Central Committee of the German Socialist-Democratic Workmen's Party issued, on the 5th of September, a manifesto, energetically insisting upon these guarantees.

"We," they say, "we protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. And we are conscious of speaking in the name of the German working class. In the common interest of France and Germany, in the interest of peace and liberty, in the interest of Western civilisation against Eastern barbarism, the German workmen will not patiently tolerate the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.... We shall faithfully stand by our fellow-workmen in all countries for the common international cause of the Proletariat!"[360]

Unfortunately, we cannot feel sanguine of their immediate success. If the French workmen amidst peace failed to stop the aggressor, are the German workmen more likely to stop the victor amidst the clangour of arms? The German workmen's manifesto demands the extradition of

Louis Bonaparte as a common felon to the French Republic. Their rulers are, on the contrary, already trying hard to restore him to the Tuileries as the best man to ruin France. However that may be, history will prove that the German working class are not made of the same malleable stuff as the German middle class. They will do their duty.

Like them, we hail the advent of the Republic in France, but at the same time we labour under misgivings which we hope will prove groundless. That Republic has not subverted the throne, but only taken its place become vacant. It has been proclaimed, not as a social conquest, but as a national measure of defence. It is in the hands of a Provisional Government composed partly of notorious Orleanists, partly of middle-class Republicans, upon some of whom the insurrection of June, 1848,[361] has left its indelible stigma. The division of labour amongst the members of that Government looks awkward. The Orleanists have seized the strongholds of the army and the police, while to the professed Republicans have fallen the talking departments. Some of their first acts go far to show that they have inherited from the Empire, not only ruins, but also its dread of the working class. If eventual impossibilities are in wild phraseology demanded from the Republic, is it not with a view to prepare the cry for a "possible" government? Is the Republic, by some of its middle-class managers, not intended to serve as a mere stopgap and bridge over an Orleanist Restoration?

The French working class moves, therefore, under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Any attempt at upsetting the new Government in the present crisis, when the enemy is almost knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly. The French workmen must perform their duties as citizens; but, at the same time, they must not allow themselves to be deluded by the national *souvenirs** 

* Remembrances.—*Ed.*

of 1792, as the French peasants allowed themselves to be deluded by the national *souvenirs* of the First Empire. They have not to recapitulate the past, but to build up the future. Let them calmly and resolutely improve the opportunities of Republican liberty, for the work of their own class organisation. It will gift them with fresh Herculean powers for the regeneration of France, and our common task—the emancipation of labour. Upon their energies and wisdom hinges the fate of the Republic.

The English workmen have already taken measures to overcome, by a wholesome pressure from without, the reluctance of their Government to recognise the French Republic.[362] The present dilatoriness of the British Government is probably intended to atone for the Anti-Jacobin war and its former indecent haste in sanctioning the *coup d'état*.[363] The English workmen call also upon their Government to oppose by all its power the dismemberment of France, which part of the English press is so shameless enough to howl for. It is the same press that for twenty years deified Louis Bonaparte as the providence of Europe, that frantically cheered on the slaveholders' rebellion. Now, as then, it drudges for the slaveholder.

Let the sections of the *International Working Men's Association* in every country stir the working classes to action. If they forsake their duty, if they remain passive, the present tremendous war will be but the harbinger of still deadlier international feuds, and lead in every nation to a renewed triumph over the workman by the lords of the sword, of the soil, and of capital.

*Vive la République.*

The General Council:

*ROBERT APPLEGARTH; MARTIN J. BOON; FRED. BRADNICK; CAIHIL; JOHN HALES; WILLIAM HALES; GEORGE HARRIS; FRED. LESSNER; LOPATIN;*

*B. LUCRAFT; GEORGE MILNER; THOMAS MOTTERSHEAD; CHARLES MURRAY; GEORGE ODGER; JAMES PARNELL; PFÄNDER; RÜHL; JOSEPH SHEPHERD; COWELL STEPNEY; STOLL; SCHMUTZ*

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*EUGÈNE DUPONT* for France; *KARL MARX* for Germany and Russia; *A. SERRAILLIER* for Belgium, Holland, and Spain; *HERMANN JUNG* for Switzerland; *GIOVANNI BORA* for Italy; *ZÉVY MAURICE* for Hungary; *ANTON ZABICKI* for Poland; *JAMES COHEN* for Denmark; *J. G. ECCARIUS* for the United States.

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*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, General Secretary

*Office*: 256. High Holborn, London, W.C.,
*September 9th, 1870*

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## AU 6e CONGRÈS DES SECTIONS BELGES DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS*[364]

Londres, 23 décembre 1870

Citoyens,

Le Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs adresse ses félicitations à votre 6e Congrès. Le fait même de la réunion de ce Congrès prouve de nouveau que le prolétariat belge continue sans relâche dans ses efforts pour l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière, même pendant qu'une guerre meurtrière et fratricide remplit d'horreur l'Europe entière et supplante, pour le moment, tout autre intérêt dans la pensée publique.

C'est avec une satisfaction particulière que nous avons vu les sections belges suivre, à l'égard de cette guerre, la ligne d'action et énoncer les pensées que prescrivaient les intérêts du prolétariat de tous les pays : la répudiation de toute idée de conquête et le maintien de la République en France. D'ailleurs nos amis belges se trouvent, sous ce rapport, en harmonie complète avec les ouvriers des autres pays.

Depuis l'occupation de Rouen par les Prussiens, les dernières relations qui nous étaient encore restées en France, ont été interrompues. Mais en Angleterre, en Amérique et

* See Appendix, pp. 476-78.—*Ed.*

en Allemagne, le mouvement parmi les ouvriers contre la guerre de conquête et pour le maintien de la République s'est développé rapidement. En Allemagne surtout, ce mouvement a pris de telles dimensions que le gouvernement prussien s'est vu obligé, dans l'intérêt de sa politique de conquête et de réaction, de sévir contre les ouvriers. Le Comité central de la démocratie socialiste de l'Allemagne, siégeant à Brunswick, a été arrêté ; beaucoup de membres du même parti ont subi le même sort ; enfin deux députés au parlement de l'Allemagne du Nord, les citoyens Bebel et Liebknecht, qui y représentaient les vues et les intérêts de la classe ouvrière, ont été mis sous verrou. L'Internationale est accusée d'avoir donné à tous ces citoyens le mot d'ordre d'une vaste conspiration révolutionnaire ; nous avons là, n'en doutons point, la deuxième édition du célèbre complot de l'Internationale à Paris, complot que la police bonapartiste disait avoir découvert et qui, après, finit par s'évaporer si misérablement. En dépit de ces persécutions, le mouvement international des ouvriers marche et marchera toujours.

Le présent congrès vous offre une occasion pour constater le nombre des sections et autres sociétés affiliées, des membres dont se compose chacune d'entre elles et de former ainsi une idée exacte du progrès qu'a fait en Belgique notre mouvement. Nous désirerions que vous communiquiez au Conseil Général le résultat de cette statistique sur la position de notre Association chez vous, statistique que nous aurons à cœur de compléter aussi pour les autres pays. Il va sans dire que cette communication sera considérée par nous comme confidentielle et que les faits qu'elle nous fera connaître ne seront pas livrés à la publicité.

De plus, le Conseil Général se permet d'espérer que les sections belges, dans le courant de l'année 1871, se trouveront à même de se rappeler les résolutions des divers congrès internationaux relativement aux cotisations destinées pour lui. La guerre actuelle met hors de question la rentrée

de fonds de la plupart des pays continentaux, et nous savons bien que les ouvriers belges se ressentent aussi de la dépression générale qui résulte de cette guerre ; aussi le Conseil Général ne relève-t-il cette question que pour rappeler aux sections belges l'impossibilité où il se trouverait, sans soutien matériel, de donner à la propagande toute l'étendue qu'il voudrait lui voir.

En l'absence du Secrétaire pour la Belgique, le citoyen Serraillier, le Conseil Général a chargé le soussigné d'adresser cette communication au Congrès.

Salut et fraternité,

*F. E.*

Written by Engels in French

Printed according to the MS

## AL CONSEJO FEDERAL DE LA REGION ESPAÑOLA DE LA ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES*[365]

Londres, 13 février 1871

Citoyens,

C'est avec beaucoup de plaisir que le Conseil Général a reçu votre lettre du 14 décembre. Votre lettre précédente en date du 30 juillet nous était également parvenue ; elle avait été remise au citoyen Serraillier, secrétaire pour l'Espagne, avec l'instruction de vous faire parvenir notre réponse. Mais le citoyen Serraillier, peu de temps après, s'est rendu en France pour combattre pour la République, et puis il a été enfermé dans Paris. Si donc vous n'avez pas reçu de réponse à votre lettre du 30 juillet, qui est encore entre ses mains, c'est en conséquence de ces circonstances. Maintenant, le Conseil Général, dans sa séance du 7 courant, a chargé le soussigné F. E., par intérim, de la correspondance avec l'Espagne, et lui a remis votre dernière lettre.

Nous avons régulièrement reçu les journaux ouvriers espagnols—la *Federacion* de Barcelone, la *Solidaridad* de Madrid (jusqu'à décembre 1870), *El Obrero* de Palma (jusqu'à sa suspension) et récemment (seulement le premier N°) de la *Revolucion social*[366] de Palma. Ces journaux nous ont tenus au courant de ce qui se passe en Espagne par rapport au mouvement ouvrier ; nous avons vu avec beaucoup de satisfaction que les idées de révolution sociale deviennent de plus en plus la propriété commune de la classe ouvrière de votre pays.

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* See Appendix, pp. 479-82.—*Ed.*

Sans doute, les vaines déclamations des anciens partis politiques, comme vous le dites, ont attiré beaucoup trop l'attention populaire et par cela ont formé un grand obstacle à notre propagande. Cela est arrivé partout dans les premières années du mouvement prolétaire. En France, en Angleterre, en Allemagne, les socialistes ont été, et sont encore dans la nécessité de combattre l'influence et l'action des anciens partis politiques soit aristocratiques ou bourgeois, monarchiques ou même républicains. L'expérience a partout prouvé que le meilleur moyen d'émanciper les ouvriers de cette domination des anciens partis, a été de fonder, dans chaque pays, un parti prolétaire avec une politique à lui, politique qui se distingue bien clairement de celle des autres partis, puisqu'elle doit exprimer les conditions de l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière. Les détails de cette politique pourront varier selon les circonstances particulières de chaque pays ; mais les relations fondamentales du travail au capital étant partout les mêmes, et le fait de la domination politique des classes possédantes sur les classes exploitées existant partout, les principes et le but de la politique prolétaire seront identiques, au moins dans tous les pays occidentaux. Les classes possédantes, aristocrates fonciers et bourgeois, tiennent en servitude le peuple travailleur non seulement par la puissance de leurs richesses, par la simple exploitation du travail par le capital, mais aussi par la force de l'Etat, par l'armée, la bureaucratie, les tribunaux. Ce serait abandonner un des plus puissants moyens d'action, et surtout d'organisation et de propagande, que de renoncer de combattre nos adversaires sur le terrain politique. Le suffrage universel nous donne un moyen d'action excellent. En Allemagne, les ouvriers, fortement organisés comme parti politique, ont réussi à envoyer six députés à la soi-disant représentation nationale ; et l'opposition que nos amis Bebel et Liebknecht y ont pu faire contre la guerre de conquête vient d'agir plus puissamment dans l'intérêt de notre propagande internationale que des années de propa-

gande par la presse et les réunions ne l'auraient fait. En ce moment en France aussi, des représentants ouvriers viennent d'être élus et proclameront hautement nos principes à l'Assemblée nationale. Aux prochaines élections, ce sera la même chose en Angleterre.

Nous apprenons avec plaisir que vous voulez bien nous remettre les cotisations des branches de votre pays ; nous les recevrons avec reconnaissance. Veuillez-nous les remettre en un mandat sur quelque banquier de Londres, à l'ordre de John Weston, notre trésorier, et par lettre recommandée adressée au soussigné soit à 256 High Holborn, London (siège de notre Conseil), soit à sa résidence 122 R.P.R.*

Nous attendons avec beaucoup d'intérêt la statistique de votre fédération dont vous nous promettez l'envoi.

Quant au congrès de l'Internationale, il sera inutile d'y penser tant que dure la guerre actuelle. Mais si, comme il paraît, la paix sera bientôt rétablie, le Conseil s'occupera immédiatement de cette importante question et il prendra en considération votre invitation amicale de le convoquer à Barcelone.

Nous n'avons pas encore de sections en Portugal; il serait peut-être plus facile pour vous que pour nous d'ouvrir des relations avec les ouvriers de ce pays. Si cela est ainsi, veuillez-nous écrire de nouveau à ce sujet. De même nous croyons qu'il vaudra mieux, pour le commencement du moins, si ce sera vous qui ouvrirez des relations avec les typographes de Buenos Aires, sauf à nous prévenir plus tard des résultats obtenus. En attendant vous nous feriez un service agréable et utile à la cause, si vous vouliez nous adresser un numéro des *Anales de la Sociedad tipografica de Buenos Aires*[367], pour en prendre connaissance.

Pour le reste, le mouvement international continue à marcher malgré tous les obstacles. En Angleterre, les conseils centraux des métiers (Trades'Councils) de Birmingham et de

* Regent's Park Road.—*Ed.*

Manchester viennent de s'affilier directement à notre Association, et par eux, les ouvriers des deux plus importantes villes manufacturières du pays. En Allemagne, nous subissons pour le moment la même persécution de la part des gouvernements que Louis Bonaparte il y a un an nous fit subir en France. Nos amis allemands, dont plus de cinquante sont en prison, souffrent littéralement pour la cause internationale ; ils ont été arrêtés et poursuivis parce qu'ils se sont opposés de toutes leurs forces à la politique de conquête et parce qu'ils ont demandé que le peuple allemand fraternisât avec le peuple français. En Autriche beaucoup de nos amis ont été emprisonnés, mais le mouvement marche néanmoins. En France, nos sections ont été partout l'âme et la force de la résistance contre l'invasion, ils se sont emparés du pouvoir local dans les grandes villes du midi, et si Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux, Toulouse, ont développé une énergie inconnue ailleurs, ç'a été grâce aux efforts des Internationaux. En Belgique, nous sommes fortement organisés ; nos sections belges viennent de célébrer leur sixième congrès régional. En Suisse, les différends qui s'étaient élevés parmi nos sections il y a quelque temps, paraissent en train de s'aplanir. De l'Amérique, nous avons reçu l'adhésion de nouvelles sections françaises, allemandes et tchèques (de Bohême) et pour le reste nous continuons nos relations fraternelles avec la grande organisation des ouvriers américains, la Ligue du Travail (Labour League)[368].

Dans l'espoir de recevoir bientôt vos nouvelles communications nous vous offrons notre salut fraternel.

Pour le Conseil Général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs,

*F. E.*

Written by Engels in French (except for the heading which is in Spanish)

Printed according to the MS

## AN DIE REDAKTION DES *VOLKSSTAAT**[369]

Das „Paris-Journal", eines der gelungensten Organe der Pariser Polizeipresse, veröffentlichte in seiner Nummer vom 14. März einen Artikel unter dem sensationellen Aushängeschild „Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale" („Grand Chef" ist wohl die französische Übersetzung des Stieberschen „Hauptchef"[370]).

„Er", beginnt der Artikel, „ist, wie bekannt, ein Deutscher, was schlimmer ist, ein Preuße. Er nennt sich Karl Marx, wohnt zu *Berlin* etc. Nun wohl! Dieser Karl Marx ist unzufrieden mit der Haltung der französischen Mitglieder der *Internationalen*. Dies spricht schon für ihn. Er findet, daß sie sich unendlich zu viel mit Politik und nicht genug mit den sozialen Fragen beschäftigen. Das ist seine Ansicht, und er hat sie soeben sehr entschieden formuliert in einem Brief an seinen Bruder und Freund, den Bürger *Serraillier*, einen der Pariser Hochpriester der *Internationalen*. Karl Marx bittet die französischen Mitglieder, insbesondere die Pariser Affiliierten, nicht aus dem Auge zu verlieren, daß ihre Gesellschaft einen einzigen Zweck hat: die Organisation der Arbeit und die Zukunft der Arbeitergesellschaften. Aber man desorganisiert die Arbeit, statt sie zu organisieren, und er glaubt, die Delinquenten zum Respekt der Statuten der Assoziation zurückrufen zu müssen. Wir erklären uns im Stand, diesen merkwürdigen Brief des Herrn Karl Marx publizieren zu können, sobald er den Mitgliedern der *Internationalen* mitgeteilt worden sein wird."

In seiner Nummer vom 19. März hat das „Paris-Journal" in der Tat einen angeblich von mir unterzeichneten Brief, der sofort von der gesamten Pariser Reaktionspresse nach-

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* See Appendix, pp. 483-85.—*Ed.*

gedruckt ward und dann seinen Weg in Londoner Blätter fand. Mittlerweile jedoch hatte „Paris-Journal" ausgewittert, daß ich in *London* hause und *nicht in Berlin*. Es datiert daher diesmal den Brief von London, im Widerspruch zu seiner ersten Ankündigung. Diese nachträgliche Korrektur leidet jedoch an dem Mißstand, daß sie mich mit meinem zu London befindlichen Freunde *Serraillier* über den Umweg von Paris korrespondieren läßt. Der Brief, wie ich bereits in der „Times"* erklärt habe, ist von Anfang bis zu Ende eine unverschämte *Fälschung*.

Dasselbe „Paris-Journal" und andere Pariser Organe der „guten Presse" verbreiteten das Gerücht, der Pariser Föderalrat der *Internationalen* habe den außerhalb seiner Kompetenz liegenden Beschluß gefaßt, die Deutschen von der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation auszuschließen. Die Londoner Tagesblätter griffen die willkommene Nachricht hasting auf und ergingen sich in schadenfroh gerührten Leitartikeln über den endlich vollzogenen Selbstmord der *Internationalen*. Leider bringt die „Times" heute folgende Erklärung des *Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation***:

„Eine Mitteilung, wonach die Pariser Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation den Ausschluß aller Deutschen aus der *Internationalen* erklärt, also im Sinne der *Antideutschen Liga* gehandelt hätten, macht die Runde in der englischen Presse. Die Mitteilung steht im schreiendsten Widerspruch zu den Tatsachen. Weder der Föderalrat unserer Assoziation zu Paris, noch irgendeine der Pariser Sektionen, die er repräsentiert, haben jemals von einem solchen Beschluß geträumt. Die sogenannte Antideutsche Liga, soweit sie überhaupt existiert, ist ausschließlich das Werk der Aristokratie und der Bourgeoisie. Sie ward ins Leben gerufen durch den Jockey-Club und in Gang gehal-

* See p. 163 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** See p. 158 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

ten durch die Zustimmungen der Akademie, der Börse, einiger Bankiers und Fabrikanten usw. Die Arbeiterklasse hatte nie damit zu schaffen.

Der Zweck dieser Verleumdungen springt ins Auge. Kurz vor dem Ausbruch des neulichen Krieges mußte die *Internationale* als Sündenbock für alle mißliebigen Ereignisse herhalten. Dieselbe Taktik wird jetzt wiederholt. Während z. B. Schweizer und preußische Blätter sie als Urheber der Unbilden gegen die Deutschen in Zürich denunzieren, berichten gleichzeitig französische Blätter, wie der ‚Courrier de Lyon', der ‚Courrier de la Gironde', die Pariser ‚Liberté' usw. von gewissen geheimen Zusammenkünften der *Internationalen* zu *Genf* und *Bern*, unter dem *Vorsitz des preußischen Gesandten*, worin der Plan ausgeheckt worden sei, den vereinigten Preußen und Internationalen *Lyon* zum Behuf gemeinsamer Plünderung zu überliefern."

Soweit die Erklärung des Generalrats. Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß die Großwürdenträger und herrschenden Klassen der alten Gesellschaft, welche ihre eigene Macht und die Exploitation der produktiven Volksmassen nur noch durch *nationale* Kämpfe und Gegensätze erhalten können, in der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* ihren gemeinsamen Gegner erkennen. Ihn zu vernichten, sind *alle* Mittel gut.

London, 23 März, 1871

*KARL MARX*,

*Sekretär* des Generalrats der
Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
*für Deutschland*

Published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 26, March 29, 1871, *L'Egalité* (abridged) No. 6, March 31, 1871 and *Der Vorbote* No. 4, April 23, 1871

Printed according to *Der Volksstaat*

## GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

256, High Holborn, London, W. C.
*April 5th, 1871*

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Council to call the attention of your Society to the Lock-Out of the Cigar-Makers of Antwerp.[371] For years past there have been troubles owing to a want of understanding between the men in the trade of Belgium, Holland and England. In 1868, the Delegate* of the London Cigar-Makers, at the International Congress of Brussels, succeded in laying the foundation for Cigar-Makers' Unions at Brussels and Antwerp, thence they spread to other towns and into Holland.[372] At Brussels, there are, at present, only four men out of the union; at Antwerp, forty-nine. All these unions are branches of the International, and in correspondence with each other.

The employers have formed a counter union, and, a few days ago, those of Antwerp resolved upon a Lock-Out unless their men left the union; the men resolved to stick to the union, and 500 are now locked out. They had £240 in hand, the London Cigar-Makers have voted them £150, the Belgians in London have collected £20. A little more assistance will ensure success. The men of Antwerp do not ask for gifts, but for loans, and we know from experience that such loans have been faithfully repaid. The Council,

* James Cohn.—*Ed.*

therefore, appeals to your Society to take the matter into consideration with the view of rendering whatever assistance it may be in its power to render. The Lock-Out pay is not extravagant, only five francs a week, and the cause of unionism ought not to be defeated for the want of that for a few weeks. Success now will save trouble in other trades.

If a Deputation from the Council is desired, a notice to that effect will much oblige.

Yours, in the Bonds of Labour's Brotherhood,

*J. GEORGE ECCARIUS*, General Secretary

Written by Eccarius in English
Published as a leaflet

Printed according to the text of the leaflet

## RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL EXPELLING TOLAIN FROM THE I.W.M.A.[373]

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

Considering the resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris Sections expelling Citizen Tolain from the Association because, after having been elected to the National Assembly as a representative of the working classes, he has deserted their cause in the most disgraceful manner; which resolution the General Council is called upon to confirm,

Considering that the place of every French member of the I.W.M.A. is undoubtedly on the side of the Commune of Paris and not in the usurpatory and counter-revolutionary Assembly of Versailles,

Confirms the resolution of the Paris Federal Council and declares that Citizen Tolain is expelled from the I.W.M.A.

The General Council was prevented from taking action in this matter sooner, by the fact that the above resolution of the Paris Federal Council was laid before them, in an authentic shape, on the 25th April only.

Written by Engels in English, with corrections by Marx

Published in the newspapers *The Eastern Post* No. 135, April 29, 1871; *L'Internationale* No. 122, May 14, 1871; *Der Volksstaat* No. 42, May 24, 1871

Printed according to the MS

# THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[374]

*To All the Members of the Association in Europe and the United States*

I

On the 4th of September, 1870, when the working men of Paris proclaimed the Republic, which was almost instantaneously acclaimed throughout France, without a single voice of dissent, a cabal of place-hunting barristers, with Thiers for their statesman and Trochu for their general, took hold of the Hôtel de Ville. At that time they were imbued with so fanatical a faith in the mission of Paris to represent France in all epochs of historical crisis, that, to legitimate their usurped titles as governors of France, they thought it quite sufficient to produce their lapsed mandates as representatives of Paris. In our second address on the late war, five days after the rise of these men, we told you who they were.* Yet, in the turmoil of surprise, with the real leaders of the working class still shut up in Bonapartist prisons and the Prussians already marching upon Paris, Paris bore with their assumption of power, on the express condition that it was to be wielded for the single purpose

* See pp. 339-40 of the present volume. —*Ed.*

of national defence. Paris, however, was not to be defended without arming its working class, organising them into an effective force, and training their ranks by the war itself. But Paris armed was the Revolution armed. A victory of Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been a victory of the French workman over the French capitalist and his State parasites. In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection.

The first step they took was to send Thiers on a roving tour to all the courts of Europe, there to beg mediation by offering the barter of the Republic for a king. Four months after the commencement of the siege, when they thought the opportune moment came for breaking the first word of capitulation, Trochu, in the presence of Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, addressed the assembled mayors of Paris in these terms:

"The first question put to me by my colleagues on the very evening of the 4th of September was this: Paris, can it with any chance of success stand a siege by the Prussian army? I did not hesitate to answer in the negative. Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of my words and the persistence of my opinion. I told them, in these very terms, that, under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to hold out a siege by the Prussian army would be a folly. Without doubt, I added, it would be an heroic folly; but that would be all.... The events" (managed by himself) "have not given the lie to my prevision."

This nice little speech of Trochu was afterwards published by M. Corbon, one of the mayors present.

Thus, on the very evening of the proclamation of the Republic, Trochu's "plan" was known to his colleagues to be the capitulation of Paris. If national defence had been more than a pretext for the personal government of Thiers, Favre, and Co., the upstarts of the 4th of September would have abdicated on the 5th—would have initiated the Paris

people into Trochu's "plan", and called upon them to surrender at once, or to take their own fate into their own hands. Instead of this, the infamous impostors resolved upon curing the heroic folly of Paris by a regimen of famine and broken heads, and to dupe her in the meanwhile by ranting manifestoes, holding forth that Trochu, "the governor of Paris, will never capitulate", and Jules Favre, the foreign minister, will "not cede an inch of our territory, nor a stone of our fortresses". In a letter to Gambetta, that very same Jules Favre avows that what they were "defending" against were not the Prussian soldiers, but the working men of Paris. During the whole continuance of the siege the Bonapartist cut-throats, whom Trochu had wisely intrusted with the command of the Paris army, exchanged, in their intimate correspondence, ribald jokes at the well-understood mockery of defence. (See, for instance, the correspondence of Alphonse* Simon Guiod, supreme commander of the artillery of the Army of Defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to Susane,[375] general of division of artillery, a correspondence published by the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune.) The mask of imposture was at last dropped on the 28th of January, 1871.[376] With the true heroism of utter self-debasement, the Government of National Defence, in their capitulation, came out as the government of France by Bismarck's prisoners—a part so base that Louis Bonaparte himself had, at Sedan, shrunk from accepting it. After the events of the 18th of March, on their wild flight to Versailles, the *capitulards*[377] left in the hands of Paris the documentary evidence of their treason, to destroy which, as the Commune says in its manifesto to the provinces,

"those men would not recoil from battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed by a sea of blood".[378]

* Should be "Adolphe".—*Ed.*

To be eagerly bent upon such a consummation, some of the leading members of the Government of Defence had, besides, most peculiar reasons of their own.

Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, M. Millière, one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly, now shot by express order of Jules Favre, published a series of authentic legal documents in proof that Jules Favre, living in concubinage with the wife of a drunkard resident at Algiers, had, by a most daring concoction of forgeries, spread over many years, contrived to grasp, in the name of the children of his adultery, a large succession, which made him a rich man, and that, in a lawsuit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure by the connivance of the Bonapartist tribunals. As these dry legal documents were not to be got rid of by any amount of rhetorical horse-power, Jules Favre, for the first time in his life, held his tongue, quietly awaiting the outbreak of the civil war, in order, then, frantically to denounce the people of Paris as a band of escaped convicts in utter revolt against family, religion, order and property. This same forger had hardly got into power, after the 4th of September, when he sympathetically let loose upon society Pic and Taillefer, convicted, even under the empire, of forgery, in the scandalous affair of the "*Etendard*".[379] One of these men, Taillefer, having dared to return to Paris under the Commune, was at once reinstated in prison; and then Jules Favre exclaimed, from the tribune of the National Assembly, that Paris was setting free all her jailbirds!

Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller* of the Government of National Defence, who appointed himself Finance Minister of the Republic after having in vain striven to become the Home Minister of the Empire, is the brother of one Arthur Picard, an individual expelled from the Paris *Bourse* as a

* The German editions of 1871 and 1891 have Karl Vogt; the French, Falstaff.—*Ed.*

blackleg (see report of the Prefecture of Police, dated the 31st of July, 1867), and convicted, on his own confession, of a theft of 300,000 francs, while manager of one of the branches of the *Société Générale*,[380] rue Palestro, No. 5 (see report of the Prefecture of Police, 11th December, 1868). This Arthur Picard was made by Ernest Picard the editor of his paper, *l'Electeur libre*.[381] While the common run of stockjobbers were led astray by the official lies of this Finance Office paper, Arthur was running backwards and forwards between the Finance Office and the *Bourse*, there to discount the disasters of the French army. The whole financial correspondence of that worthy pair of brothers fell into the hands of the Commune.

Jules Ferry, a penniless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived, as Mayor of Paris during the siege, to job a fortune out of famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his maladministration would be the day of his conviction.

These men, then, could find, in the ruins of Paris only, their tickets-of-leave* : they were the very men Bismarck wanted. With the help of some shuffling of cards, Thiers, hitherto the secret prompter of the Government, now appeared at its head, with the ticket-of-leave-men for his Ministers.

Thiers, that monstrous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century, because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class-corruption. Before he became a statesman he had already proved his lying powers as an historian. The chronicle of his public life is the record of the misfortunes of France. Banded, before 1830, with the Republicans, he slipped into

* In England common criminals are often discharged on parole after serving the greater part of their term, and are placed under police surveillance. On such discharge they receive a certificate called ticket-of-leave, their possessors being referred to as ticket-of-leave-men. [*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1871.*]

office under Louis Philippe by betraying his protector Laffitte, ingratiating himself with the king by exciting mobriots against the clergy, during which the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois and the Archbishop's palace were plundered, and by acting the minister-spy upon, and the jail-*accoucheur* of, the Duchess de Berry.[382] The massacre of the Republicans in the rue Transnonain, and the subsequent infamous laws of September against the press and the right of association, were his work.[383] Reappearing as the chief of the Cabinet in March, 1840, he astonished France with his plan of fortifying Paris.[384] To the Republicans, who denounced this plan as a sinister plot against the liberty of Paris, he replied from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies:

"What! to fancy that any works of fortification could ever endanger liberty! And first of all you calumniate any possible Government in supposing that it could some day attempt to maintain itself by bombarding the capital;... but that Government would be a hundred times more impossible after its victory than before."

Indeed, no Government would ever have dared to bombard Paris from the forts, but that Government which had previously surrendered these forts to the Prussians.

When King Bomba tried his hand at Palermo, in January, 1848,[385] Thiers, then long since out of office, again rose in the Chamber of Deputies:

"You know, gentlemen, what is happening at Palermo. You, all of you, shake with horror" (in the parliamentary sense) "on hearing that during forty-eight hours a large town has been bombarded—by whom? Was it by a foreign enemy exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, it was by its own Government. And why? Because that unfortunate town demanded its rights. Well, then, for the demand of its rights it has got forty-eight hours of bombardment.... Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It is doing a service to mankind to arise, and to make reverberate, from what is perhaps the greatest tribune in Europe, some words" (indeed words) "of indignation against such acts.... When the Regent Espartero, who had rendered services to

his country" (which M. Thiers never did), "intended bombarding Barcelona, in order to suppress its insurrection, there arose from all parts of the world a general outcry of indignation."

Eighteen months afterwards, M. Thiers was amongst the fiercest defenders of the bombardment of Rome by a French army.[386] In fact, the fault of King Bomba seems to have consisted in this only, that he limited his bombardment to forty-eight hours.

A few days before the Revolution of February, fretting at the long exile from place and pelf to which Guizot had condemned him, and sniffing in the air the scent of an approaching popular commotion, Thiers, in that pseudo-heroic style which won him the nickname of *Mirabeau-mouche*,* declared to the Chamber of Deputies:

"I am of the party of Revolution, not only in France, but in Europe. I wish the Government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men ... but if that Government should fall into the hands of ardent minds, even into those of Radicals, I shall, for all that, not desert my cause. I shall always be of the party of the Revolution."

The Revolution of February came. Instead of displacing the Guizot Cabinet by the Thiers Cabinet, as the little man had dreamt, it superseded Louis Philippe by the Republic. On the first day of the popular victory he carefully hid himself, forgetting that the contempt of the working men screened him from their hatred. Still, with his legendary courage, he continued to shy the public stage, until the June massacres[387] had cleared it for his sort of action. Then he became the leading mind of the "Party of Order"[388] and its Parliamentary Republic, that anonymous interregnum, in which all the rival factions of the ruling class conspired together to crush the people, and conspired against each other to restore each of them its own monarchy. Then, as now, Thiers denounced the Republicans as the only obstacle

* Mirabeau the fly.—*Ed.*

to the consolidation of the Republic; then, as now, he spoke to the Republic as the hangman spoke to Don Carlos:—"I shall assassinate thee, but for thy own good." Now, as then, he will have to exclaim on the day after his victory: "L'Empire est fait"—the Empire is consummated. Despite his hypocritical homilies about necessary liberties and his personal grudge against Louis Bonaparte, who had made a dupe of him, and kicked out parliamentarism—and outside of its factitious atmosphere the little man is conscious of withering into nothingness—he had a hand in all the infamies of the Second Empire, from the occupation of Rome by French troops to the war with Prussia, which he incited by his fierce invective against German unity—not as a cloak of Prussian despotism, but as an encroachment upon the vested right of France in German disunion. Fond of brandishing, with his dwarfish arms, in the face of Europe the sword of the first Napoleon, whose historical shoe-black he had become, his foreign policy always culminated in the utter humiliation of France, from the London Convention of 1840[389] to the Paris capitulation of 1871, and the present civil war, where he hounds on the prisoners of Sedan and Metz against Paris by special permission of Bismarck.[390] Despite his versatility of talent and shiftness of purpose, this man has his whole lifetime been wedded to the most fossil routine. It is self-evident that to him the deeper under-currents of modern society remained forever hidden; but even the most palpable changes on its surface were abhorrent to a brain all the vitality of which had fled to the tongue. Thus he never tired of denouncing as a sacrilege any deviation from the old French protective system. When a minister of Louis Philippe, he railed at railways as a wild chimera; and when in opposition under Louis Bonaparte, he branded as a profanation every attempt to reform the rotten French army system. Never in his long political career has he been guilty of a single—even the smallest—measure of any practical

use. Thiers was consistent only in his greed for wealth and his hatred of the men that produce it. Having entered his first ministry under Louis Philippe poor as Job, he left it a millionaire. His last ministry under the same king (of the 1st of March, 1840) exposed him to public taunts of peculation in the Chamber of Deputies, to which he was content to reply by tears—a commodity he deals in as freely as Jules Favre, or any other crocodile. At Bordeaux his first measure for saving France from impending financial ruin was to endow himself with three millions a year, the first and the last word of the "Economical Republic", the vista of which he had opened to his Paris electors in 1869. One of his former colleagues of the Chamber of Deputies of 1830, himself a capitalist and, nevertheless, a devoted member of the Paris Commune, M. Beslay, lately addressed Thiers thus in a public placard:

"The enslavement of labour by capital has always been the corner-stone of your policy, and from the very day you saw the Republic of Labour installed at the Hôtel de Ville, you have never ceased to cry out to France: 'These are criminals!' "

A master in small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury and treason, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices, and base perfidies of parliamentary party-warfare; never scrupling, when out of office, to fan a revolution, and to stifle it in blood when at the helm of the state; with class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of a heart; his private life as infamous as his public life is odious—even now, when playing the part of a French Sulla, he cannot help setting off the abomination of his deeds by the ridicule of his ostentation.

The capitulation of Paris, by surrendering to Prussia not only Paris, but all France, closed the long-continued intrigues of treason with the enemy, which the usurpers of the 4th of September had begun, as Trochu himself said, on that very same day. On the other hand, it initiated the

civil war they were now to wage, with the assistance of Prussia, against the Republic and Paris. The trap was laid in the very terms of the capitulation. At that time above one-third of the territory was in the hands of the enemy, the capital was cut off from the provinces, all communications were disorganised. To elect under such circumstances a real representation of France was impossible, unless ample time were given for preparation. In view of this, the capitulation stipulated that a National Assembly must be elected within eight days; so that in many parts of France the news of the impending election arrived on its eve only. This assembly, moreover, was, by an express clause of the capitulation, to be elected for the sole purpose of deciding on peace or war, and, eventually, to conclude a treaty of peace. The population could not but feel that the terms of the armistice rendered the continuation of the war impossible, and that for sanctioning the peace imposed by Bismarck, the worst men in France were the best. But not content with these precautions, Thiers, even before the secret of the armistice had been broached to Paris, set out for an electioneering tour through the provinces, there to galvanise back into life the Legitimist party,[391] which now, along with the Orleanists, had to take the place of the then impossible Bonapartists. He was not afraid of them. Impossible as a government of modern France, and, therefore, contemptible as rivals, what party were more eligible as tools of counter-revolution than the party whose action, in the words of Thiers himself (Chamber of Deputies, 5th January, 1833),

"had always been confined to the three resources of foreign invasion, civil war, and anarchy"?

They verily believed in the advent of their long-expected retrospective millennium. There were the heels of foreign invasion trampling upon France; there was the downfall of an empire, and the captivity of a Bonaparte; and there

they were themselves. The wheel of history had evidently rolled back to stop at the "chambre introuvable" of 1816.[392] In the Assemblies of the Republic, 1848 to 51, they had been represented by their educated and trained parliamentary champions; it was the rank-and-file of the party which now rushed in—all the Pourceaugnacs* of France.

As soon as this Assembly of "Rurals"[393] had met at Bordeaux, Thiers made it clear to them that the peace preliminaries must be assented to at once, without even the honours of a Parliamentary debate, as the only condition on which Prussia would permit them to open the war against the Republic and Paris, its stronghold. The counter-revolution had, in fact, no time to lose. The Second Empire had more than doubled the national debt, and plunged all the large towns into heavy municipal debts. The war had fearfully swelled the liabilities, and mercilessly ravaged the resources of the nation. To complete the ruin, the Prussian Shylock was there with his bond for the keep of half a million of his soldiers on French soil, his indemnity of five milliards, and interest at 5 per cent on the unpaid instalments thereof.[394] Who was to pay the bill? It was only by the violent overthrow of the Republic that the appropriators of wealth could hope to shift on the shoulders of its producers the cost of a war which they, the appropriators, had themselves originated. Thus, the immense ruin of France spurred on these patriotic representatives of land and capital, under the very eyes and patronage of the invader, to graft upon the foreign war a civil war—a slaveholders' rebellion.

There stood in the way of this conspiracy one great obstacle—Paris. To disarm Paris was the first condition of success. Paris was therefore summoned by Thiers to surrender its arms. Then Paris was exasperated by the frantic

* *Pourceaugnac*: A character in one of Molière's comedies, typifying the dull-witted, narrow-minded petty landed gentry.—*Ed.*

anti-republican demonstrations of the "Rural" Assembly and by Thiers' own equivocations about the legal status of the Republic; by the threat to decapitate and decapitalise Paris; the appointment of Orleanist ambassadors; Dufaure's laws on over-due commercial bills and house-rents,[395] inflicting ruin on the commerce and industry of Paris; Pouyer-Quertier's tax of two centimes upon every copy of every imaginable publication; the sentences of death against Blanqui and Flourens; the suppression of the Republican journals; the transfer of the National Assembly to Versailles; the renewal of the state of siege declared by Palikao, and expired on the 4th of September; the appointment of Vinoy, the *Décembriseur*,[396] as governor of Paris—of Valentin, the Imperialist *gendarme*, as its prefect of police—and of D'Aurelle de Paladines, the Jesuit general, as the commander-in-chief of its National Guard.

And now we have to address a question to M. Thiers and the men of national defence, his under-strappers. It is known that, through the agency of M. Pouyer-Quertier, his finance minister, Thiers had contracted a loan of two milliards. Now, is it true, or not,—

1. That the business was so managed that a consideration of several hundred millions was secured for the private benefit of Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Pouyer-Quertier, and Jules Simon? and—

2. That no money was to be paid down until after the "pacification" of Paris[397]?

At all events, there must have been something very pressing in the matter, for Thiers and Jules Favre, in the name of the majority of the Bordeaux Assembly, unblushingly solicited the immediate occupation of Paris by Prussian troops. Such, however, was not the game of Bismarck, as he sneeringly, and in public, told the admiring Frankfort philistines on his return to Germany.

## II

*Armed* Paris was the only serious obstacle in the way of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy. Paris was, therefore, to be disarmed. On this point the Bordeaux Assembly was sincerity itself. If the roaring rant of its Rurals had not been audible enough, the surrender of Paris by Thiers to the tender mercies of the triumvirate of Vinoy the *Décembriseur,* Valentin the Bonapartist *gendarme,* and Aurelle de Paladines the Jesuit general, would have cut off even the last subterfuge of doubt. But while insultingly exhibiting the true purpose of the disarmament of Paris, the conspirators asked her to lay down her arms on a pretext which was the most glaring, the most barefaced of lies. The artillery of the Paris National Guard, said Thiers, belonged to the State, and to the State it must be returned. The fact was this: From the very day of the capitulation, by which Bismarck's prisoners had signed the surrender of France, but reserved to themselves a numerous body-guard for the express purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on the watch. The National Guard reorganised themselves and intrusted their supreme control to a Central Committee elected by their whole body, save some fragments of the old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the Central Committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the

*capitulards* in and about the very quarters the Prussians were to occupy. That artillery had been furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard. As their private property, it was officially recognised in the capitulation of the 28th of January, and on that very title exempted from the general surrender, into the hands of the conqueror, of arms belonging to the Government. And Thiers was so utterly destitute of even the flimsiest pretext for initiating the war against Paris, that he had to resort to the flagrant lie of the artillery of the National Guard being State property!

The seizure of her artillery was evidently but to serve as the preliminary to the general disarmament of Paris, and, therefore, of the Revolution of the 4th of September. But that Revolution had become the legal status of France. The Republic, its work, was recognised by the conqueror in the terms of the capitulation. After the capitulation, it was acknowledged by all the foreign Powers, and in its name the National Assembly had been summoned. The Paris working men's Revolution of the 4th of September was the only legal title of the National Assembly seated at Bordeaux, and of its executive. Without it, the National Assembly would at once have to give way to the *Corps Législatif*, elected in 1869 by universal suffrage under French, not under Prussian, rule, and forcibly dispersed by the arm of the Revolution. Thiers and his ticket-of-leave-men would have had to capitulate for safe conducts signed by Louis Bonaparte, to save them from a voyage to Cayenne.[398] The National Assembly, with its power of attorney to settle the terms of peace with Prussia, was but an incident of that Revolution, the true embodiment of which was still armed Paris, which had initiated it, undergone for it a five months' siege, with its horrors of famine, and made her prolonged resistance, despite Trochu's plan, the basis of an obstinate war of defence in the provinces. And Paris was now either to lay down her arms at the insulting behest of the rebellious slaveholders of Bordeaux, and acknowledge that her

Revolution of the 4th of September meant nothing but a simple transfer of power from Louis Bonaparte to his Royal rivals; or she had to stand forward as the self-sacrificing champion of France, whose salvation from ruin, and whose regeneration were impossible, without the revolutionary overthrow of the political and social conditions that had engendered the Second Empire, and, under its fostering care, matured into utter rottenness. Paris, emaciated by a five months' famine, did not hesitate one moment. She heroically resolved to run all the hazards of a resistance against the French conspirators, even with Prussian cannon frowning upon her from her own forts. Still, in its abhorrence of the civil war into which Paris was to be goaded, the Central Committee continued to persist in a merely defensive attitude, despite the provocations of the Assembly, the usurpations of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops in and around Paris.

Thiers opened the civil war by sending Vinoy, at the head of a multitude of *sergents-de-ville* and some regiments of the line, upon a nocturnal expedition against Montmartre, there to seize, by surprise, the artillery of the National Guard. It is well known how this attempt broke down before the resistance of the National Guard and the fraternisation of the line with the people. Aurelle de Paladines had printed beforehand his bulletin of victory, and Thiers held ready the placards announcing his measures of *coup d'état*. Now these had to be replaced by Thiers' appeals, imparting his magnanimous resolve to leave the National Guard in the possession of their arms, with which, he said, he felt sure they would rally round the Government against the rebels. Out of 300,000 National Guards only 300 responded to this summons to rally round little Thiers against themselves. The glorious working men's Revolution of the 18th March took undisputed sway of Paris. The Central Committee was its provisional government. Europe seemed, for a moment, to doubt whether its recent sensational per-

formances of state and war had any reality in them, or whether they were the dreams of a long bygone past.

From the 18th of March to the entrance of the Versailles troops into Paris, the proletarian revolution remained so free from the acts of violence in which the revolutions, and still more the counter-revolutions, of the "better classes" abound, that no facts were left to its opponents to cry out about but the execution of Generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas, and the affair of the Place Vendôme.

One of the Bonapartist officers engaged in the nocturnal attempt against Montmartre, General Lecomte, had four times ordered the 81st line regiment to fire at an unarmed gathering in the Place Pigalle, and on their refusal fiercely insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, his own men shot him. The inveterate habits acquired by the soldiery under the training of the enemies of the working class are, of course, not likely to change the very moment these soldiers changed sides. The same men executed Clément Thomas.

"General" Clément Thomas, a malcontent exquartermaster-sergeant, had, in the latter times of Louis Philippe's reign, enlisted at the office of the Republican newspaper *Le National*,[399] there to serve in the double capacity of responsible man-of-straw (*gérant résponsable*) and of duelling bully to that very combative journal. After the Revolution of February, the men of the *National* having got into power, they metamorphosed this old quartermaster-sergeant into a general on the eve of the butchery of June, of which he, like Jules Favre, was one of the sinister plotters, and became one of the most dastardly executioners. Then he and his generalship disappeared for a long time, to again rise to the surface on the 1st November, 1870. The day before the Government of Defence, caught at the Hôtel de Ville, had solemnly pledged their parole to Blanqui, Flourens, and other representatives of the working class, to abdicate their usurped power into the hands of a commune to be freely

elected by Paris.[400] Instead of keeping their word, they let loose on Paris the Bretons of Trochu, who now replaced the Corsicans of Bonaparte.[401] General Tamisier alone, refusing to sully his name by such a breach of faith, resigned the commandership-in-chief of the National Guard, and in his place Clément Thomas for once became again a general. During the whole of his tenure of command, he made war, not upon the Prussians, but upon the Paris National Guard. He prevented their general armament, pitted the bourgeois battalions against the working men's battalions, weeded out the officers hostile to Trochu's "plan", and disbanded, under the stigma of cowardice, the very same proletarian battalions whose heroism has now astonished their most inveterate enemies. Clément Thomas felt quite proud of having reconquered his June pre-eminence as the personal enemy of the working class of Paris. Only a few days before the 18th of March, he laid before the War Minister, Le Flô, a plan of his own for "finishing off *la fine fleur* [the cream] of the Paris *canaille*". After Vinoy's rout, he must needs appear upon the scene of action in the quality of an amateur spy. The Central Committee and the Paris working men were as much responsible for the killing of Clément Thomas and Lecomte as the Princess of Wales was for the fate of the people crushed to death on the day of her entrance into London.

The massacre of unarmed citizens in the Place Vendôme is a myth which M. Thiers and the Rurals persistently ignored in the Assembly, intrusting its propagation exclusively to the servants' hall of European journalism. "The men of order", the reactionists of Paris, trembled at the victory of the 18th of March. To them it was the signal of popular retribution at last arriving. The ghosts of the victims assassinated at their hands from the days of June, 1848, down to the 22nd of January, 1871,[402] arose before their faces. Their panic was their only punishment. Even the *sergents-de-ville,* instead of being disarmed and locked

up, as ought to have been done, had the gates of Paris flung wide open for their safe retreat to Versailles. The men of order were left not only unharmed, but allowed to rally and quietly to seize more than one stronghold in the very centre of Paris. This indulgence of the Central Committee—this magnanimity of the armed working men—so strangely at variance with the habits of the "Party of Order", the latter misinterpreted as mere symptoms of conscious weakness. Hence their silly plan to try, under the cloak of an unarmed demonstration, what Vinoy had failed to perform with his cannon and *mitrailleuses*. On the 22nd of March a riotous mob of swells started from the quarters of luxury, all the *petits crevés* in their ranks, and at their head the notorious familiars of the Empire—the Heckeren, Coëtlogon, Henri de Pène, etc. Under the cowardly pretence of a pacific demonstration, this rabble, secretly armed with the weapons of the bravo, fell into marching order, ill-treated and disarmed the detached patrols and sentries of the National Guards they met with on their progress, and, on debouching from the Rue de la Paix, with the cry of "Down with the Central Committee! Down with the assassins! The National Assembly for ever!" attempted to break through the line drawn up there, and thus to carry by a surprise the headquarters of the National Guard in the Place Vendôme. In reply to their pistol-shots, the regular *sommations* (the French equivalent of the English Riot Act)[403] were made, and, proving ineffective, fire was commanded by the general of the National Guard.* One volley dispersed into wild flight the silly coxcombs, who expected that the mere exhibition of their "respectability" would have the same effect upon the Revolution of Paris as Joshua's trumpets upon the wall of Jericho. The runaways left behind them two National Guards killed, nine severely wounded (among them a member of

* Bergeret.—*Ed.*

the Central Committee*), and the whole scene of their exploit strewn with revolvers, daggers, and sword-canes, in evidence of the "unarmed" character of their "pacific" demonstration. When, on the 13th of June, 1849, the National Guard made a really pacific demonstration in protest against the felonious assault of French troops upon Rome, Changarnier, then general of the Party of Order, was acclaimed by the National Assembly, and especially by M. Thiers, as the saviour of society, for having launched his troops from all sides upon these unarmed men, to shoot and sabre them down, and to trample them under their horses' feet. Paris, then, was placed under a state of siege. Dufaure hurried through the Assembly new laws of repression. New arrests, new proscriptions—a new reign of terror set in. But the lower orders manage these things otherwise. The Central Committee of 1871 simply ignored the heroes of the "pacific demonstration"; so much so that only two days later they were enabled to muster under Admiral Saisset for that *armed* demonstration, crowned by the famous stampede to Versailles. In their reluctance to continue the civil war opened by Thiers' burglarious attempt on Montmartre, the Central Committee made itself, this time, guilty of a decisive mistake in not at once marching upon Versailles, then completely helpless, and thus putting an end to the conspiracies of Thiers and his Rurals. Instead of this, the Party of Order was again allowed to try its strength at the ballot box, on the 26th of March, the day of the election of the Commune. Then, in the *mairies* of Paris, they exchanged bland words of conciliation with their too generous conquerors, muttering in their hearts solemn vows to exterminate them in due time.

Now look at the reverse of the medal. Thiers opened his second campaign against Paris in the beginning of April.

* Maljournal.—*Ed.*

The first batch of Parisian prisoners brought into Versailles was subjected to revolting atrocities, while Ernest Picard, with his hands in his trousers' pockets, strolled about jeering them, and while Mesdames Thiers and Favre, in the midst of their ladies of honour (?), applauded, from the balcony, the outrages of the Versailles mob. The captured soldiers of the line were massacred in cold blood; our brave friend, General Duval, the iron-founder, was shot without any form of trial. Galliffet, the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire, boasted in a proclamation of having commanded the murder of a small troop of National Guards, with their captain and lieutenant, surprised and disarmed by his Chasseurs. Vinoy, the runaway, was appointed by Thiers Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, for his general order to shoot down every soldier of the line taken in the ranks of the Federals. Desmarest, the gendarme, was decorated for the treacherous butcher-like chopping in pieces of the high-souled and chivalrous Flourens, who had saved the heads of the Government of Defence on the 31st of October, 1870[404]. "The encouraging particulars" of his assassination were triumphantly expatiated upon by Thiers in the National Assembly. With the elated vanity of a parliamentary Tom Thumb, permitted to play the part of a Tamerlane, he denied the rebels against his littleness every right of civilised warfare, up to the right of neutrality for ambulances. Nothing more horrid than that monkey, allowed for a time to give full fling to his tigerish instincts, as foreseen by Voltaire.[405] (See note, p. 35.*)

After the decree of the Commune of the 7th April, ordering reprisals and declaring it to be its duty "to protect Paris against the cannibal exploits of the Versailles banditti, and to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth",[406] Thiers did not stop the barbarous treatment of prisoners,

* See pp. 413-14 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

moreover insulting them in his bulletins as follows:—"Never have more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gazes of honest men",—honest like Thiers himself and his ministerial ticket-of-leave-men. Still the shooting of prisoners was suspended for a time. Hardly, however, had Thiers and his Decembrist generals become aware that the Communal decree of reprisals was but an empty threat, that even their gendarme spies caught in Paris under the disguise of National Guards, that even *sergents-de-ville*, taken with incendiary shells upon them, were spared,—when the wholesale shooting of prisoners was resumed and carried on uninterruptedly to the end. Houses to which National Guards had fled were surrounded by gendarmes, inundated with petroleum (which here occurs for the first time in this war), and then set fire to, the charred corpses being afterwards brought out by the ambulance of the Press at the Ternes. Four National Guards having surrendered to a troop of mounted Chasseurs at Belle Epine, on the 25th of April, were afterwards shot down, one after another, by the captain, a worthy man of Galliffet's. One of his four victims, left for dead, Scheffer, crawled back to the Parisian outposts, and deposed to this fact before a commission of the Commune. When Tolain interpellated the War Minister upon the report of this commission, the Rurals drowned his voice and forbade Le Flô to answer. It would be an insult to their "glorious" army to speak of its deeds. The flippant tone in which Thiers' bulletins announced the bayoneting of the Federals surprised asleep at Moulin Saquet, and the wholesale fusillades at Clamart shocked the nerves even of the not oversensitive London *Times*. But it would be ludicrous today to attempt recounting the merely preliminary atrocities committed by the bombarders of Paris and the formenters of a slaveholders' rebellion protected by foreign invasion. Amidst all these horrors, Thiers, forgetful of his parliamentary laments on the terrible responsibility weighing down

his dwarfish shoulders, boasts in his bulletins that *l'Assemblée siège paisiblement* (the Assembly continues meeting in peace), and proves by his constant carousals, now with Decembrist generals, now with German princes, that his digestion is not troubled in the least, not even by the ghosts of Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

## III

On the dawn of the 18th of March, Paris arose to the thunderbust of "Vive la Commune!" What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalising to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of Paris," said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th March, "amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs.... They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power."[407]

But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

The centralised State power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature—organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour,—originates from the days of absolute monarchy, serving nascent middle-class society as a mighty weapon in its struggles against feudalism. Still, its development remained clogged by all manner of mediaeval rubbish, seignorial rights, local privileges, municipal and guild monopolies and provincial constitutions. The gigantic broom of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century swept away all these relics of bygone times, thus clearing simultaneously the social soil of its last hindrances

to the superstructure of the modern State edifice raised under the First Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semi-feudal Europe against modern France. During the subsequent *régimes* the Government, placed under parliamentary control—that is, under the direct control of the propertied classes—became not only a hotbed of huge national debts and crushing taxes; with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf, and patronage, it became not only the bone of contention between the rival factions and adventurers of the ruling classes; but its political character changed simultaneously with the economic changes of society. At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a public force organised for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism. After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief. The Revolution of 1830, resulting in the transfer of Government from the landlords to the capitalists, transferred it from the more remote to the more direct antagonists of the working men. The bourgeois Republicans, who, in the name of the Revolution of February, took the State power, used it for the June massacres, in order to convince the working class that "social" republic meant the republic ensuring their social subjection, and in order to convince the royalist bulk of the bourgeois and landlord class that they might safely leave the cares and emoluments of Government to the bourgeois "Republicans". However, after their one heroic exploit of June, the bourgeois Republicans had, from the front, to fall back to the rear of the "Party of Order"—a combination formed by all the rival fractions and factions of the appropriating class in their now openly declared antagonism to the producing classes. The proper form of their joint-

stock Government was the *Parliamentary Republic*, with Louis Bonaparte for its President. Theirs was a *régime* of avowed class terrorism and deliberate insult toward the "vile multitude". If the Parliamentary Republic, as M. Thiers said, "divided them" (the different fractions of the ruling class) "least", it opened an abyss between that class and the whole body of society outside their spare ranks. The restraints by which their own divisions had under former *régimes* still checked the State power, were removed by their union; and in view of the threatening upheaval of the proletariat, they now used that State power mercilessly and ostentatiously as the national war-engine of capital against labour. In their uninterrupted crusade against the producing masses they were, however, bound not only to invest the Executive with continually increased powers of repression, but at the same time to divest their own parliamentary stronghold—the National Assembly—one by one, of all its own means of defence against the Executive. The Executive, in the person of Louis Bonaparte, turned them out. The natural offspring of the "Party-of-Order" Republic was the Second Empire.

The Empire, with the *coup d'état* for its certificate of birth, universal suffrage for its sanction, and the sword for its sceptre, professed to rest upon the peasantry, the large mass of producers not directly involved in the struggle of capital and labour. It professed to save the working class by breaking down Parliamentarism, and, with it, the undisguised subserviency of Government to the propertied classes. It professed to save the propertied classes by upholding their economic supremacy over the working class; and, finally, it professed to unite all classes by reviving for all the chimera of national glory. In reality, it was the only form of government possible at a time when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not yet acquired, the faculty of ruling the nation. It was acclaimed throughout the world as the saviour of society. Under its

sway, bourgeois society, freed from political cares, attained a development unexpected even by itself. Its industry and commerce expanded to colossal dimensions; financial swindling celebrated cosmopolitan orgies; the misery of the masses was set off by a shameless display of gorgeous, meretricious and debased luxury. The State power, apparently soaring high above society, was at the same time itself the greatest scandal of that society and the very hotbed of all its corruptions. Its own rottenness, and the rottenness of the society it had saved, were laid bare by the bayonet of Prussia, herself eagerly bent upon transferring the supreme seat of that *régime* from Paris to Berlin. Imperialism is, at the same time, the most prostitute and the ultimate form of the State power which nascent middle-class society had commenced to elaborate as a means of its own emancipation from feudalism, and which full-grown bourgeois society had finally transformed into a means for the enslavement of labour by capital.

The direct antithesis to the Empire was the Commune. The cry of "social republic", with which the Revolution of February was ushered in by the Paris proletariat, did but express a vague aspiration after a Republic that was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class-rule, but class-rule itself. The Commune was the positive form of that Republic.

Paris, the central seat of the old governmental power, and, at the same time, the social stronghold of the French working class, had risen in arms against the attempt of Thiers and the Rurals to restore and perpetuate that old governmental power bequeathed to them by the Empire. Paris could resist only because, in consequence of the siege, it had got rid of the army, and replaced it by a National Guard, the bulk of which consisted of working men. This fact was now to be transformed into an institution. The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the

suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people.

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*. The vested interests and the representation allowanees of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the Central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune.

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "parson-power", by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that

sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible, and revocable.

The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial centres of France. The communal *régime* once established in Paris and the secondary centres, the old centralised Government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers. In a rough sketch of national organisation which the Commune had no time to develop, it states clearly that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet, and that in the rural districts the standing army was to be replaced by a national militia, with an extremely short term of service. The rural communes of every district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central town, and these district assemblies were again to send deputies to the National Delegation in Paris, each delegate to be at any time revocable and bound by the *mandat impératif* (formal instructions) of his constituents. The few but important functions which still would remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as has been intentionally misstated, but were to be discharged by Communal, and therefore strictly responsible agents. The unity of the nation was not to be broken, but, on the contrary, to be organised by the Communal Constitution and to become a reality by the destruction of the State power which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it was but a parasitic excrescence. While the merely repressive organs of the old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping pre-eminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society. Instead of deciding once in three or six

years which member of the ruling class was to misrepresent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business. And it is well known that companies, like individuals, in matters of real business generally know how to put the right man in the right place, and, if they for once make a mistake, to redress it promptly. On the other hand, nothing could be more foreign to the spirit of the Commune than to supersede universal suffrage by hierarchic investiture.[408]

It is generally the fate of completely new historical creations to be mistaken for the counterpart of older and even defunct forms of social life, to which they may bear a certain likeness. Thus, this new Commune, which breaks the modern State power, has been mistaken for a reproduction of the mediaeval Communes, which first preceded, and afterwards became the substratum of, that very State power.—The Communal Constitution has been mistaken for an attempt to break up into a federation of small States, as dreamt of by Montesquieu and the Girondins, that unity of great nations which, if originally brought about by political force, has now become a powerful coefficient of social production.—The antagonism of the Commune against the State power has been mistaken for an exaggerated form of the ancient struggle against over-centralisation. Peculiar historical circumstances may have prevented the classical development, as in France, of the bourgeois form of government, and may have allowed, as in England, to complete the great central State organs by corrupt vestries, jobbing councillors, and ferocious poor-law guardians in the towns, and virtually hereditary magistrates in the countries. The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by the State parasite feeding upon, and clogging the free movement of, society. By this one act it would have initiated the regeneration of

France.—The provincial French middle class saw in the Commune an attempt to restore the sway their order had held over the country under Louis Philippe, and which, under Louis Napoleon, was supplanted by the pretended rule of the country over the towns. In reality, the Communal Constitution brought the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts, and these secured to them, in the working men, the natural trustees of their interests.—The very existence of the Commune involved, as a matter of course, local municipal liberty, but no longer as a check upon the, now superseded, State power. It could only enter into the head of a Bismarck, who, when not engaged on his intrigues of blood and iron, always likes to resume his old trade, so befitting his mental calibre, of contributor to *Kladderadatsch* (the Berlin *Punch*),[409] it could only enter into such a head, to ascribe to the Paris Commune aspirations after that caricature of the old French municipal organisation of 1791, the Prussian municipal constitution which degrades the town governments to mere secondary wheels in the police-machinery of the Prussian State.

The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditure—the standing army and State functionarism. Its very existence presupposed the non-existence of monarchy, which, in Europe at least, is the normal incumbrance and indispensable cloak of class-rule. It supplied the Republic with the basis of really democratic institutions. But neither cheap government nor the "true Republic" was its ultimate aim; they were its mere concomitants.

The multiplicity of interpretations to which the Commune has been subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favour, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its

true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour.

Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class-rule. With labour emancipated, every man becomes a working man, and productive labour ceases to be a class attribute.

It is a strange fact. In spite of all the tall talk and all the immense literature, for the last sixty years, about Emancipation of Labour, no sooner do the working men anywhere take the subject into their own hands with a will, than uprises at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society with its two poles of Capital and Wages-Slavery (the landlord now is but the sleeping partner of the capitalist), as if capitalist society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare. The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilisation! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labour of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into mere instruments of free and associated labour. But this is Communism, "impossible" Communism! Why, those members of the ruling classes who are intelligent enough to perceive the impossibility of continuing the

present system—and they are many—have become the obstrusive and full-mouthed apostles of co-operative production. If co-operative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the Capitalist system; if united co-operative societies are to regulate national production upon a common plan, thus taking it under their own control, and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical convulsions which are the fatality of Capitalist production—what else, gentlemen, would it be but Communism, "possible" Communism?

The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realise, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility.

When the Paris Commune took the management of the Revolution in its own hands; when plain working men for the first time dared to infringe upon the Governmental privilege of their "natural superiors", and, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently,—performed it at salaries the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific authority,* is the

* Professor Huxley. [*Note to the German edition of 1871.*]

minimum required for a secretary to a certain metropolitan school board,—the old world writhed in convulsions of rage at the sight of the Red Flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labour, floating over the Hôtel de Ville.

And yet, this was the first revolution in which the working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle class—shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants—the wealthy capitalists alone excepted. The Commune had saved them by a sagacious settlement of that ever-recurring cause of dispute among the middle classes themselves—the debtor and creditor accounts.[410] The same portion of the middle class, after they had assisted in putting down the working men's insurrection of June, 1848, had been at once unceremoniously sacrificed to their creditors by the then Constituent Assembly.[411] But this was not their only motive for now rallying round the working class. They felt that there was but one alternative—the Commune, or the Empire—under whatever name it might reappear. The Empire had ruined them economically by the havoc it made of public wealth, by the wholesale financial swindling it fostered, by the props it lent to the artificially accelerated centralisation of capital, and the concomitant expropriation of their own ranks. It had suppressed them politically, it had shocked them morally by its orgies, it had insulted their Voltairianism by handing over the education of their children to the *frères ignorantins*,[412] it had revolted their national feeling as Frenchmen by precipitating them headlong into a war which left only one equivalent for the ruins it made—the disappearance of the Empire. In fact, after the exodus from Paris of the high Bonapartist and capitalist *bohême*, the true middle-class Party of Order came out in the shape of the "Union Républicaine",[413] enrolling themselves under the colours of the Commune and defending it against the wilful misconstruction of Thiers. Whether

the gratitude of this great body of the middle class will stand the present severe trial, time must show.

The Commune was perfectly right in telling the peasants that "its victory was their only hope".[414] Of all the lies hatched at Versailles and re-echoed by the glorious European penny-a-liner, one of the most tremendous was that the Rurals represented the French peasantry. Think only of the love of the French peasant for the men to whom, after 1815, he had to pay the milliard of indemnity![415] In the eyes of the French peasant, the very existence of a great landed proprietor is in itself an encroachment on his conquests of 1789. The bourgeois, in 1848, had burdened his plot of land with the additional tax of forty-five cents in the franc; but then he did so in the name of the Revolution; while now he had fomented a civil war against the Revolution, to shift on to the peasant's shoulders the chief load of the five milliards of indemnity to be paid to the Prussian. The Commune, on the other hand, in one of its first proclamations, declared that the true originators of the war would be made to pay its cost. The Commune would have delivered the peasant of the blood tax,—would have given him a cheap government,—transformed his present blood-suckers, the notary, advocate, executor, and other judicial vampires, into salaried communal agents, elected by, and responsible to, himself. It would have freed him of the tyranny of the *garde champêtre*, the gendarme, and the prefect; would have put enlightenment by the schoolmaster in the place of stultification by the priest. And the French peasant is, above all, a man of reckoning. He would find it extremely reasonable that the pay of the priest, instead of being extorted by the taxgatherer, should only depend upon the spontaneous action of the parishioners' religious instincts. Such were the great immediate boons which the rule of the Commune—and that rule alone —held out to the French peasantry. It is, therefore, quite superfluous here to expatiate upon the more complicated

but vital problems which the Commune alone was able, and at the same time compelled, to solve in favour of the peasant, *viz.*, the hypothecary debt, lying like an incubus upon his parcel of soil, the *prolétariat foncier* (the rural proletariat), daily growing upon it, and his expropriation from it enforced, at a more and more rapid rate, by the very development of modern agriculture and the competition of capitalist farming.

The French peasant had elected Louis Bonaparte president of the Republic; but the Party of Order created the Empire. What the French peasant really wants he commenced to show in 1849 and 1850, by opposing his *maire* to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the Government's priest, and himself to the Government's gendarme. All the laws made by the Party of Order in January and February, 1850,[416] were avowed measures of repression against the peasant. The peasant was a Bonapartist, because the great Revolution, with all its benefits to him, was, in his eyes, personified in Napoleon. This delusion, rapidly breaking down under the Second Empire (and in its very nature hostile to the Rurals), this prejudice of the past, how could it have withstood the appeal of the Commune to the living interests and urgent wants of the peasantry?

The Rurals—this was, in fact, their chief apprehension—knew that three months' free communication of Communal Paris with the provinces would bring about a general rising of the peasants, and hence their anxiety to establish a police blockade around Paris, so as to stop the spread of the rinderpest.

If the Commune was thus the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national Government, it was, at the same time, as a working men's Government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labour, emphatically international. Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany

two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world.

The Second Empire had been the jubilee of cosmopolitan black-legism, the rakes of all countries rushing in at its call for a share in its orgies and in the plunder of the French people. Even at this moment the right hand of Thiers is Ganesco, the foul Wallachian, and his left hand is Markovsky, the Russian spy. The Commune admitted all foreigners to the honour of dying for an immortal cause. Between the foreign war lost by their treason, and the civil war fomented by their conspiracy with the foreign invader, the bourgeoisie had found the time to display their patriotism by organising police-hunts upon the Germans in France. The Commune made a German working man* its Minister of Labour. Thiers, the bourgeoisie, the Second Empire, had continually deluded Poland by loud professions of sympathy, while in reality betraying her to, and doing the dirty work of, Russia. The Commune honoured the heroic sons of Poland** by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris. And, to broadly mark the new era of history it was conscious of initiating, under the eyes of the conquering Prussians, on the one side, and of the Bonapartist army, led by Bonapartist generals, on the other, the Commune pulled down that colossal symbol of Martial glory, the Vendôme column.[417]

The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people. Such were the abolition of the nightwork of journeymen bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their work-people fines under manifold pretexts,—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of

* Leo Frankel.—*Ed.*

** J. Dombrowski and W. Wróblewski.—*Ed.*

legislator, judge, and executor, and filches the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender, to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all closed workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work.

The financial measures of the Commune, remarkable for their sagacity and moderation, could only be such as were compatible with the state of a besieged town. Considering the colossal robberies committed upon the city of Paris by the great financial companies and contractors, under the protection of Haussmann, the Commune would have had an incomparably better title to confiscate their property than Louis Napoleon had against the Orleans family. The Hohenzollern and the English oligarchs, who both have derived a good deal of their estates from Church plunder, were, of course, greatly shocked at the Commune clearing but 8,000 f. out of secularisation.

While the Versailles Government, as soon as it had recovered some spirit and strength, used the most violent means against the Commune; while it put down the free expression of opinion all over France, even to the forbidding of meetings of delegates from the large towns; while it subjected Versailles and the rest of France to an espionage far surpassing that of the Second Empire; while it burned by its gendarme inquisitors all papers printed at Paris, and sifted all correspondence from and to Paris; while in the National Assembly the most timid attempts to put in a word for Paris were howled down in a manner unknown even to the *Chambre introuvable* of 1816; with the savage warfare of Versailles outside, and its attempts at corruption and conspiracy inside Paris—would the Commune not have shamefully betrayed its trust by affecting to keep up all the decencies and appearances of liberalism as in a time of profound peace? Had the Government of the Commune been akin to that of M. Thiers, there would

have been no more occasion to suppress Party-of-Order papers at Paris than there was to suppress Communal papers at Versailles.

It was irritating indeed to the Rurals that at the very same time they declared the return to the Church to be the only means of salvation for France, the infidel Commune unearthed the peculiar mysteries of the Picpus nunnery, and of the Church of Saint Laurent.[418] It was a satire upon M. Thiers that, while he showered grand crosses upon the Bonapartist generals in acknowledgement of their mastery in losing battles, signing capitulations, and turning cigarettes at Wilhelmshöhe,[419] the Commune dismissed and arrested its generals whenever they were suspected of neglecting their duties. The expulsion from, and arrest by, the Commune of one of its members* who had slipped in under a false name, and had undergone at Lyons six days' imprisonment for simple bankruptcy, was it not a deliberate insult hurled at the forger, Jules Favre, then still the Foreign Minister of France, still selling France to Bismarck, and still dictating his orders to that paragon Government of Belgium? But indeed the Commune did not pretend to infallibility, the invariable attribute of all governments of the old stamp. It published its doings and sayings, it initiated the public into all its shortcomings.

In every revolution there intrude, at the side of its true agents, men of a different stamp; some of them survivors of and devotees to past revolutions, without insight into the present movement, but preserving popular influence by their known honesty and courage, or by the sheer force of tradition; others mere bawlers, who, by dint of repeating year after year the same set of stereotyped declamations against the Government of the day, have sneaked into the reputation of revolutionists of the first water. After the 18th of March, some such men did also turn up, and in some

* Blanchet.—*Ed.*

cases contrived to play pre-eminent parts. As far as their power went, they hampered the real action of the working class, exactly as men of that sort have hampered the full development of every previous revolution. They are an unavoidable evil: with time they are shaken off; but time was not allowed to the Commune.

Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought in Paris! No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British landlords, Irish absentees,[420] American ex-slaveholders and shoddy men, Russian ex-serfowners, and Wallachian boyards. No more corpses at the morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies; in fact, for the first time since the days of February, 1848, the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind.

"We," said a member of the Commune, "hear no longer of assassination, theft and personal assault; it seems indeed as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its Conservative friends."

The *cocottes* had refound the scent of their protectors—the absconding men of family, religion, and, above all, of property. In their stead, the real women of Paris showed again at the surface—heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity. Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates—radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!

Opposed to this new world at Paris, behold the old world at Versailles—that assembly of the ghouls of all defunct *régimes*, Legitimists and Orleanists, eager to feed upon the carcass of the nation,—with a tail of antediluvian Republicans, sanctioning, by their presence in the Assembly, the slaveholders' rebellion, relying for the maintenance of their Parliamentary Republic upon the vanity of the senile mountebank at its head, and caricaturing 1789 by holding

their ghastly meetings in the *Jeu de Paume*.* There it was, this Assembly, the representative of everything dead in France, propped up to the semblance of life by nothing but the swords of the generals of Louis Bonaparte. Paris all truth, Versailles all lie; and that lie vented through the mouth of Thiers.

Thiers tells a deputation of the mayors of the Seine-et-Oise,

"You may rely upon my word, which I have *never* broken!"

He tells the Assembly itself that "it was the most freely elected and most Liberal Assembly France ever possessed"; he tells his motley soldiery that it was "the admiration of the world, and the finest army France ever possessed"; he tells the provinces that the bombardment of Paris by him was a myth:

"If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents trying to make believe that they are fighting, while they dare not show their faces."

He again tells the provinces that

"the artillery of Versailles does not bombard Paris, but only cannonades it".

He tells the Archbishop of Paris that the pretended executions and reprisals (!) attributed to the Versailles troops were all moonshine. He tells Paris that he was only anxious "to free it from the hideous tyrants who oppress it", and that, in fact, the Paris of the Commune was "but a handful of criminals".

The Paris of M. Thiers was not the real Paris of the "vile multitude", but a phantom Paris, the Paris of the *francs-*

* *Jeu de Paume*: The tennis court where the National Assembly of 1789 adopted its famous decisions. [*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1871.*]

*fileurs*,[421] the Paris of the Boulevards, male and female—the rich, the capitalist, the gilded, the idle Paris, now thronging with its lackeys, its black-legs, its literary *bohême*, and its *cocottes* at Versailles, Saint-Denis, Rueil, and Saint-Germain; considering the civil war but an agreeable diversion, eyeing the battle going on through telescopes, counting the rounds of cannon, and swearing by their own honour, and that of their prostitutes, that the performance was far better got up than it used to be at the Porte St. Martin. The men who fell were really dead; the cries of the wounded were cries in good earnest; and, besides, the whole thing was so intensely historical.

This is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the emigration of Coblenz was the France of M. de Calonne.[422]

## IV

The first attempt of the slaveholders' conspiracy to put down Paris by getting the Prussians to occupy it, was frustrated by Bismarck's refusal. The second attempt, that of the 18th of March, ended in the rout of the army and the flight to Versailles of the Government, which ordered the whole administration to break up and follow in its track. By the semblance of peace-negotiations with Paris, Thiers found the time to prepare for war against it. But where to find an army? The remnants of the line regiments were weak in number and unsafe in character. His urgent appeal to the provinces to succour Versailles, by their National Guards and volunteers, met with a flat refusal. Brittany alone furnished a handful of *Chouans*[423] fighting under a white flag, every one of them wearing on his breast the heart of Jesus in white cloth, and shouting "*Vive le Roi*!" (Long live the King!). Thiers was, therefore, compelled to collect, in hot haste, a motley crew, composed of sailors, marines, Pontifical Zouaves, Valentin's gendarmes, and Pietri's *sergents-de-ville* and *mouchards*. This army, however, would have been ridiculously ineffective without the instalments of imperialist war-prisoners, which Bismarck granted in numbers just sufficient to keep the civil war a-going, and keep the Versailles Government in abject dependence on Prussia. During the war itself, the Versailles police had to look after the Versailles army, while the

gendarmes had to drag it on by exposing themselves at all posts of danger. The forts which fell were not taken, but bought. The heroism of the Federals convinced Thiers that the resistance of Paris was not to be broken by his own strategic genius and the bayonets at his disposal.

Meanwhile, his relations with the provinces became more and more difficult. Not one single address of approval came in to gladden Thiers and his Rurals. Quite the contrary. Deputations and addresses demanding, in a tone anything but respectful, conciliation with Paris on the basis of the unequivocal recognition of the Republic, the acknowledgement of the Communal liberties, and the dissolution of the National Assembly, whose mandate was extinct, poured in from all sides, and in such numbers that Dufaure, Thiers' Minister of Justice, in his circular of April 23rd to the public prosecutors, commanded them to treat "the cry of conciliation" as a crime! In regard, however, of the hopeless prospect held out by his campaign, Thiers resolved to shift his tactics by ordering, all over the country, municipal elections to take place on the 30th of April, on the basis of the new municipal law dictated by himself to the National Assembly. What with the intrigues of his prefects, what with police intimidation, he felt quite sanguine of imparting, by the verdict of the provinces, to the National Assembly that moral power it had never possessed, and of getting at last from the provinces the physical force required for the conquest of Paris.

His banditti-warfare against Paris, exalted in his own bulletins, and the attempts of his ministers at the establishment, throughout France, of a reign of terror, Thiers was from the beginning anxious to accompany with a little by-play of conciliation, which had to serve more than one purpose. It was to dupe the provinces, to inveigle the middle-class element in Paris, and, above all, to afford the professed Republicans in the National Assembly the opportunity of hiding their treason against Paris behind

their faith in Thiers. On the 21st of March, when still without an army, he had declared to the Assembly:

"Come what may, I will not send an army to Paris."

On the 27th March he rose again:

"I have found the Republic an accomplished fact, and I am firmly resolved to maintain it."

In reality, he put down the revolution at Lyons and Marseilles[424] in the name of the Republic, while the roars of his Rurals drowned the very mention of its name at Versailles. After this exploit, he toned down the "accomplished fact" into an hypothetical fact. The Orleans princes, whom he had cautiously warned off Bordeaux, were now, in flagrant breach of the law, permitted to intrigue at Dreux. The concessions held out by Thiers in his interminable interviews with the delegates from Paris and the provinces, although constantly varied in tone and colour, according to time and circumstances, did in fact never come to more than the prospective restriction of revenge to the "handful of criminals implicated in the murder of Lecomte and Clément Thomas", on the well-understood premise that Paris and France were unreservedly to accept M. Thiers himself as the best of possible Republics, as he, in 1830, had done with Louis Philippe. Even these concessions he not only took care to render doubtful by the official comments put upon them in the Assembly through his Ministers. He had his Dufaure to act. Dufaure, this old Orleanist lawyer, had always been the justiciary of the state of siege, as now in 1871, under Thiers, so in 1839 under Louis Philippe, and in 1849 under Louis Bonaparte's presidency.[425] While out of office he made a fortune by pleading for the Paris capitalists, and made political capital by pleading against the laws he had himself originated. He now hurried through the National Assembly not only a set of repressive

laws which were, after the fall of Paris, to extirpate the last remnants of Republican liberty in France[426]; he foreshadowed the fate of Paris by abridging the, for him, too slow procedure of courts-martial,[427] and by a new-fangled, Draconic code of deportation. The Revolution of 1848, abolishing the penalty of death for political crimes, has replaced it by deportation. Louis Bonaparte did not dare, at least not in theory, to re-establish the *régime* of the guillotine. The Rural Assembly, not yet bold enough even to hint that the Parisians were not rebels, but assassins. had therefore to confine its prospective vengeance against Paris to Dufaure's new code of deportation. Under all these circumstances Thiers himself could not have gone on with his comedy of conciliation, had it not, as he intended it to do, drawn forth shrieks of rage from the Rurals, whose ruminating mind did neither understand the play, nor its necessities of hypocrisy, tergiversation, and procrastination.

In sight of the impending municipal elections of the 30th April, Thiers enacted one of his great conciliation scenes on the 27th April. Amidst a flood of sentimental rhetoric, he exclaimed from the tribune of the Assembly:

"There exists no conspiracy against the Republic but that of Paris, which compels us to shed French blood. I repeat it again and again Let those impious arms fall from the hands which hold them, and chastisement will be arrested at once by an act of peace excluding only the small number of criminals."

To the violent interruption of the Rurals he replied:

"Gentlemen, tell me, I implore you, am I wrong? Do you really regret that I could have stated the truth that the criminals are only a handful? Is it not fortunate in the midst of our misfortunes that those who have been capable to shed the blood of Clément Thomas and General Lecomte are but rare exceptions?"

France, however, turned a deaf ear to what Thiers flattered himself to be a parliamentary siren's song. Out

of 700,000 municipal councillors returned by the 35,000 communes still left to France, the United Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists did not carry 8,000. The supplementary elections which followed were still more decidedly hostile. Thus, instead of getting from the provinces the badly-needed physical force, the National Assembly lost even its last claim to moral force, that of being the expression of the universal suffrage of the country. To complete the discomfiture, the newly-chosen municipal councils of all the cities of France openly threatened the usurping Assembly at Versailles with a counter Assembly at Bordeaux.

Then the long-expected moment of decisive action had at last come for Bismarck. He peremptorily summoned Thiers to send to Frankfort plenipotentiaries for the definitive settlement of peace. In humble obedience to the call of his master, Thiers hastened to despatch his trusty Jules Favre, backed by Pouyer-Quertier. Pouyer-Quertier, an "eminent" Rouen cotton-spinner, a fervent and even servile partisan of the Second Empire, had never found any fault with it save its commercial treaty with England,[428] prejudicial to his own shop-interest. Hardly installed at Bordeaux as Thiers' Minister of Finance, he denounced that "unholy" treaty, hinted at its near abrogation, and had even the effrontery to try, although in vain (having counted without Bismarck), the immediate enforcement of the old protective duties against Alsace, where, he said, no previous international treaties stood in the way. This man, who considered counter-revolution as a means to put down wages at Rouen, and the surrender of French provinces as a means to bring up the price of his wares in France, was he not *the one* predestined to be picked out by Thiers as the helpmate of Jules Favre in his last and crowning treason?

On the arrival at Frankfort of this exquisite pair of plenipotentiaries, bully Bismarck at once met them with

the imperious alternative: Either the restoration of the Empire, or the unconditional acceptance of my own peace terms! These terms included a shortening of the intervals in which the war indemnity was to be paid and the continued occupation of the Paris forts by Prussian troops until Bismarck should feel satisfied with the state of things in France; Prussia thus being recognised as the supreme arbiter in internal French politics! In return for this he offered to let loose, for the extermination of Paris, the captive Bonapartist army, and to lend them the direct assistance of Emperor William's troops. He pledged his good faith by making payment of the first instalment of the indemnity dependent on the "pacification" of Paris. Such a bait was, of course, eagerly swallowed by Thiers and his plenipotentiaries. They signed the treaty of peace on the 10th of May, and had it endorsed by the Versailles Assembly on the 18th.

In the interval between the conclusion of peace and the arrival of the Bonapartist prisoners, Thiers felt the more bound to resume his comedy of conciliation, as his Republican tools stood in sore need of a pretext for blinking their eyes at the preparations for the carnage of Paris. As late as the 8th of May he replied to a deputation of middle-class conciliators:

"Whenever the insurgents will make up their minds for capitulation, the gates of Paris shall be flung wide open during a week for all except the murderers of Generals Clément Thomas and Lecomte."

A few days afterwards, when violently interpellated on these promises by the Rurals, he refused to enter into any explanations; not, however, without giving them this significant hint:

"I tell you there are impatient men amongst you, men who are in too great a hurry. They must have another eight days; at the end of these eight days there will be no more danger, and the task will be proportionate to their courage and to their capacities."

As soon as MacMahon was able to assure him that he could shortly enter Paris, Thiers declared to the Assembly that

"he would enter Paris with the *laws* in his hands, and demand a full expiation from the wretches who had sacrificed the lives of soldiers and destroyed public monuments".

As the moment of decision drew near he said—to the Assembly, "I shall be pitiless!"—to Paris, that it was doomed; and to his Bonapartist banditti, that they had State licence to wreak vengeance upon Paris to their hearts' content. At last, when treachery had opened the gates of Paris to General Douay, on the 21st of May, Thiers, on the 22nd, revealed to the Rurals the "goal" of his conciliation comedy, which they had so obstinately persisted in not understanding.

"I told you a few days ago that we were approaching *our goal*; today I come to tell you *the goal* is reached. The victory of order, justice and civilisation is at last won!"

So it was. The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriator and the producer brings out this fact more glaringly. Even the atrocities of the bourgeois in June, 1848, vanish before the ineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the population of Paris—men, women and children—fought for eight days after the entrance of the Versaillese, reflects as much the grandeur of their cause, as the infernal deeds of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilisation of which they are the mercenary vindicators. A glorious civilisation, indeed, the great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over!

To find a parallel for the conduct of Thiers and his bloodhounds we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two Triumvirates of Rome.[429] The same wholesale slaughter in cold blood; the same disregard, in massacre, of age and sex; the same system of torturing prisoners; the same proscriptions, but this time of a whole class; the same savage hunt after concealed leaders, lest one might escape; the same denunciations of political and private enemies; the same indifference for the butchery of entire strangers to the feud. There is but this difference, that the Romans had no *mitrailleuses* for the despatch, in the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not "the law in their hands", nor on their lips the cry of "civilisation".

And after those horrors, look upon the other, still more hideous, face of that bourgeois civilisation as described by its own press!

"With stray shots," writes the Paris correspondent of a London Tory paper, "still ringing in the distance, and untended wounded wretches dying amid the tombstones of Père la Chaise—with 6,000 terror-stricken insurgents wandering in an agony of despair in the labyrinth of the catacombs, and wretches hurried through the streets to be shot down in scores by the *mitrailleuse*—it is revolting to see the *cafés* filled with the votaries of absinthe, billiards, and dominoes; female profligacy perambulating the boulevards, and the sound of revelry disturbing the night from the *cabinets particuliers* of fashionable restaurants."

M. Edouard Hervé writes in the *Journal de Paris*,[430] a Versaillist journal suppressed by the Commune:

"The way in which the population of Paris (!) manifested its satisfaction yesterday was rather more than frivolous, and we fear it will grow worse as time progresses. Paris has now a *fête* day appearance, which is sadly out of place; and, unless we are to be called the *Parisiens de la décadence*, this sort of thing must come to an end."

And then he quotes the passage from Tacitus:

"Yet, on the morrow of that horrible struggle, even before it was completely over, Rome—degraded and corrupt—began once more to

wallow in the voluptuous slough which was destroying its body and polluting its soul—*alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balneae popinaeque* (here fights and wounds, there baths and restaurants)."[431]

M. Hervé only forgets to say that the "population of Paris" he speaks of is but the population of the Paris of M. Thiers—the *francs-fileurs* returning in throngs from Versailles, Saint-Denis, Rueil and Saint-Germain—*the* Paris of the "Decline".

In all its bloody triumphs over the self-sacrificing champions of a new and better society, that nefarious civilisation, based upon the enslavement of labour, drowns the moans of its victims in a hue-and-cry of calumny, reverberated by a world-wide echo. The serene working men's Paris of the Commune is suddenly changed into a pandemonium by the bloodhounds of "order". And what does this tremendous change prove to the bourgeois mind of all countries? Why, that the Commune has conspired against civilisation! The Paris people die enthusiastically for the Commune in numbers unequalled in any battle known to history. What does that prove? Why, that the Commune was not the people's own government but the usurpation of a handful of criminals! The women of Paris joyfully give up their lives at the barricades and on the place of execution. What does this prove? Why, that the demon of the Commune has changed them into Megaeras and Hecates! The moderation of the Commune during two months of undisputed sway is equalled only by the heroism of its defence. What does that prove? Why, that for months the Commune carefully hid, under a mask of moderation and humanity, the blood-thirstiness of its fiendish instincts, to be let loose in the hour of its agony!

The working men's Paris, in the act of its heroic self-holocaust, involved in its flames buildings and monuments. While tearing to pieces the living body of the proletariat, its rulers must no longer expect to return triumphantly into the intact architecture of their abodes. The Government

of Versailles cries, "Incendiarism!" and whispers this cue to all its agents, down to the remotest hamlet, to hunt up its enemies everywhere as suspect of professional incendiarism. The bourgeoisie of the whole world, which looks complacently upon the wholesale massacre after the battle, is convulsed by horror at the desecration of brick and mortar.

When governments give state-licences to their navies to "kill, *burn* and destroy", is that a licence for incendiarism? When the British troops wantonly set fire to the Capitol at Washington and to the summer palace of the Chinese Emperor,[432] was that incendiarism? When the Prussians, not for military reasons, but out of the mere spite of revenge, burned down, by the help of petroleum, towns like Châteaudun and innumerable villages, was that incendiarism? When Thiers, during six weeks, bombarded Paris, under the pretext that he wanted to set fire to those houses only in which there were people, was that incendiarism?— In war, fire is an arm as legitimate as any. Buildings held by the enemy are shelled to set them on fire. If their defenders have to retire, they themselves light the flames to prevent the attack from making use of the buildings. To be burnt down has always been the inevitable fate of all buildings situated in the front of battle of all the regular armies of the world. But in the war of the enslaved against their enslavers, the only justifiable war in history, this is by no means to hold good! The Commune used fire strictly as a means of defence. They used it to stop up to the Versailles troops those long, straight avenues which Haussmann had expressly opened to artillery-fire; they used it to cover their retreat, in the same way as the Versaillese, in their advance, used their shells which destroyed at least as many buildings as the fire of the Commune. It is a matter of dispute, even now, which buildings were set fire to by the defence, and which by the attack. And the defence resorted to fire only then, when the Versaillese troops had already commenced their wholesale murdering of priso-

ners.—Besides, the Commune had, long before, given full public notice that, if driven to extremities, they would bury themselves under the ruins of Paris, and make Paris a second Moscow, as the Government of Defence, but only as a cloak for its treason, had promised to do. For this purpose Trochu had found them the petroleum. The Commune knew that its opponents cared nothing for the lives of the Paris people, but cared much for their own Paris buildings. And Thiers, on the other hand, had given them notice that he would be implacable in his vengeance. No sooner had he got his army ready on one side, and the Prussians shutting up the trap on the other, than he proclaimed: "I shall be pitiless! The expiation will be complete, and justice will be stern!" If the acts of the Paris working men were vandalism, it was the vandalism of defence in despair, not the vandalism of triumph, like that which the Christians perpetrated upon the really priceless art treasures of heathen antiquity; and even that vandalism has been justified by the historian as an unavoidable and comparatively trifling concomitant to the titanic struggle between a new society arising and an old one breaking down. It was still less the vandalism of Haussmann, razing historic Paris to make place for the Paris of the sightseer!

But the execution by the Commune of the sixty-four hostages, with the Archbishop of Paris at their head! The bourgeoisie and its army in June, 1848, re-established a custom which had long disappeared from the practice of war—the shooting of their defenceless prisoners. This brutal custom has since been more or less strictly adhered to by the suppressors of all popular commotions in Europe and India; thus proving that it constitutes a real "progress of civilisation"! On the other hand, the Prussians, in France, had re-established the practice of taking hostages—innocent men, who, with their lives, were to answer to them for the acts of others. When Thiers, as we have seen, from the very beginning of the conflict, enforced the humane

practice of shooting down the Communal prisoners, the Commune, to protect their lives, was obliged to resort to the Prussian practice of securing hostages. The lives of the hostages had been forfeited over and over again by the continued shooting of prisoners on the part of the Versaillese. How could they be spared any longer after the carnage with which MacMahon's praetorians[433] celebrated their entrance into Paris? Was even the last check upon the unscrupulous ferocity of bourgeois governments—the taking of hostages—to be made a mere sham of? The real murderer of Archbishop Darboy is Thiers. The Commune again and again had offered to exchange the archbishop, and ever so many priests in the bargain, against the single Blanqui, then in the hands of Thiers. Thiers obstinately refused. He knew that with Blanqui he would give to the Commune a head; while the archbishop would serve his purpose best in the shape of a corpse. Thiers acted upon the precedent of Cavaignac. How, in June, 1848, did not Cavaignac and his men of order raise shouts of horror by stigmatising the insurgents as the assassins of Archbishop Affre! They knew perfectly well that the archbishop had been shot by the soldiers of order. M. Jacquemet, the archbishop's vicar-general, present on the spot, had immediately afterwards handed them in his evidence to that effect.

All this chorus of calumny, which the Party of Order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian, while in the hands of the plebeian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime.

The conspiracy of the ruling class to break down the Revolution by a civil war carried on under the patronage of the foreign invader—a conspiracy which we have traced from the very 4th of September down to the entrance of MacMahon's praetorians through the gate of St. Cloud—

culminated in the carnage of Paris. Bismarck gloats over the ruins of Paris, in which he saw perhaps the first instalment of that general destruction of great cities he had prayed for when still a simple Rural in the Prussian *Chambre introuvable* of 1849.[434] He gloats over the cadavers of the Paris proletariat. For him this is not only the extermination of revolution, but the extinction of France, now decapitated in reality, and by the French Government itself. With the shallowness characteristic of all successful statesmen, he sees but the surface of this tremendous historic event. Whenever before has history exhibited the spectacle of a conqueror crowning his victory by turning into, not only the gendarme, but the hired bravo of the conquered Government? There existed no war between Prussia and the Commune of Paris. On the contrary, the Commune had accepted the peace preliminaries, and Prussia had announced her neutrality. Prussia was, therefore, no belligerent. She acted the part of a bravo, a cowardly bravo, because incurring no danger; a hired bravo, because stipulating beforehand the payment of her blood-money of 500 millions on the fall of Paris. And thus, at last, came out the true character of the war, ordained by Providence as a chastisement of godless and debauched France by pious and moral Germany! And this unparalleled breach of the law of nations, even as understood by the old-world lawyers, instead of arousing the "civilised" governments of Europe to declare the felonious Prussian Government, the mere tool of the St. Petersburg Cabinet, an outlaw amongst nations, only incites them to consider whether the few victims who escape the double cordon around Paris are not to be given up to the hangman at Versailles!

That after the most tremendous war of modern times, the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternise for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crum-

bling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out into civil war. Class-rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national governments are *one* as against the proletariat!

After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out again and again in ever-growing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end,—the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the advanced guard of the modern proletariat.

While the European governments thus testify, before Paris, to the international character of class-rule, they cry down the International Working Men's Association—the international counter-organisation of labour against the cosmopolitan conspiracy of capital—as the head fountain of all these disasters. Thiers denounced it as the despot of labour, pretending to be its liberator. Picard ordered that all communications between the French Internationals and those abroad should be cut off; Count Jaubert, Thiers' mummified accomplice of 1835, declares it the great problem of all civilised governments to weed it out. The Rurals roar against it, and the whole European press joins the chorus. An honourable French writer,* completely foreign to our Association, speaks as follows:

"The members of the Central Committee of the National Guard, as well as the greater part of the members of the Commune, are the most

* The reference is apparently to Robinet.—*Ed.*

active, intelligent, and energetic minds of the International Working Men's Association; ... men who are thoroughly honest, sincere, intelligent, devoted, pure, and fanatical in the *good* sense of the word."

The police-tinged bourgeois mind naturally figures to itself the International Working Men's Association as acting in the manner of a secret conspiracy, its central body ordering, from time to time, explosions in different countries. Our Association is, in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced working men in the various countries of the civilised world. Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our Association should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the governments would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labour—the condition of their own parasitical existence.

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.

The General Council:

*M. J. BOON, FRED. BRADNICK, G. H. BUTTERY, CAIHIL, DELAHAYE, WILLIAM HALES, A. HERMAN, KOLB, FRED. LESSNER, LOCHNER, J. P. MAC DONNELL, GEORGE MILNER, THOMAS MOTTERSHEAD, CH. MILLS, CHARLES MURRAY, PFÄNDER, ROACH, ROCHAT, RÜHL, SADLER, A. SERRAILLIER, COWELL STEPNEY, ALF. TAYLOR, WILLIAM TOWNSHEND*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*EUGÈNE DUPONT*, for France
*KARL MARX*, for Germany and Holland
*FRED. ENGELS*, for Belgium and Spain
*HERMANN JUNG*, for Switzerland
*P. GIOVACCHINI*, for Italy
*ZÉVY MAURICE*, for Hungary
*ANTON ZABICKI*, for Poland
*JAMES COHEN*, for Denmark
*J. G. ECCARIUS*, for the United States

*HERMANN JUNG*, Chairman
*JOHN WESTON*, Treasurer
*GEORGE HARRIS*, Financial Secretary
*JOHN HALES*, General Secretary

Office—256, *High Holborn,*
*London, W.C., May 30th, 1871*

# NOTES

## I

"The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Uhrich, and was drawn up, four or five deep, on the footway facing to the road. General Marquis de Galliffet and his staff dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking down slowly and eyeing the ranks, the General stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the rear ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual thus selected was marched out into the centre of the road, where a small supplementary column was, thus, soon formed.... It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Galliffet a man and woman for some particular offence. The woman, rushing out of the ranks, threw herself on her knees, and, with outstretched arms, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The General waited for a pause, and then with most impassible face and unmoved demeanour, said, 'Madame, I have visited every theatre in Paris, your acting will have no effect on me' (*'ce n'est pas la peine de jouer la comédie'*).... It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, dirtier, cleaner, older, or uglier than one's neighbours. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to his having a broken nose.... Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party told off, and the column resumed its march, leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of these summarily-convicted wretches."—*Paris Correspondent "Daily News"*, June 8th.

This Galliffet, "the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second

Empire", went, during the war, by the name of the French "Ensign Pistol".

"The *Temps* which is a careful journal, and not given to sensation, tells a dreadful story of people imperfectly shot and buried before life was extinct. A great number were buried in the square round St. Jacques-la-Boucherie; some of them very superficially. In the daytime the roar of the busy streets prevented any notice being taken; but in the stillness of the night the inhabitants of the houses in the neighbourhood were roused by distant moans, and in the morning a clenched hand was seen protruding through the soil. In consequence of this, exhumations were ordered to take place.... That many wounded have been buried alive I have not the slightest doubt. One case I can vouch for. When Brunel was shot with his mistress on the 24th ult. in the courtyard of a house in the Place Vendôme, the bodies lay there until the afternoon of the 27th. When the burial party came to remove the corpses, they found the woman living still and took her to an ambulance. Though she had received four bullets she is now out of danger."—*Paris Correspondent "Evening Standard"*,[435] June 8th.

## II

The following letter appeared in the [London] *Times* of June 13th:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *TIMES*:

"Sir,—On June 6, 1871, M. Jules Favre issued a circular to all the European Powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International Working Men's Association. A few remarks will suffice to characterise that document.

"In the very preamble of our Statutes it is stated that the International was founded 'September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London.'[436] For purposes of his own Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin behind 1862.

"In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote 'their (the International's) sheet of the 25th of March, 1869'. And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society

which is not the International. This sort of manoeuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet. Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his own—a trick exposed while the court was sitting, and which, but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have been punished by Jules Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International, not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance,

"'The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July, 1869'.

"The General Council never issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document[437] which quashed the original statutes of the 'Alliance'—L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre.

"Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire.

"It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war,* the General Council of the International denounced the Prussian plans of conquest against France. Later on, Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favour of the Government of National Defence; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London were made—certainly

* See pp. 323-29 and 333-42 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

with the best of intentions—in spite of the General Council, which, in its address of the 9th of September, had distinctly forewarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues.

"What would Jules Favre say if, in its turn, the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the Cabinets of Europe, drawing their particular attention to the documents published at Paris by the late M. Millière?

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"*JOHN HALES,*

"Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

"London, June 12th, 1871."

In an article on "The International Society and its aims", that pious informer, the London *Spectator*[438] (June 24th), amongst other similar tricks, quotes, even more fully than Jules Favre has done, the above document of the "Alliance" as the work of the International, and that eleven days after the refutation had been published in the *Times*. We do not wonder at this. Frederick the Great used to say that of all Jesuits the worst are the Protestant ones.

Written by Karl Marx in April-May 1871

Originally published in English as a pamphlet in London in the middle of June 1871, it was, in the course of 1871 and 1872, published in the various countries of Europe and the United States

Printed according to the text of the English pamphlet of 1871 (third edition)

## LETTER APROPOS OF JULES FAVRE'S CIRCULAR[439]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *TIMES*

Sir,—On June 6, 1871, M. Jules Favre issued a circular to all the European Powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International Working Men's Association. A few remarks will suffice to characterise that document.

In the very preamble of our Statutes it is stated that the International was founded "September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London". For purposes of his own Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin behind 1862.

In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote "their (the International's) sheet of the 25th of March, 1869". And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society which is not the International. This sort of manoeuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet. Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his own—a trick exposed while the court was sitting, and which, but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have been punished by Jules Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International, not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance,

"The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July, 1869".

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original statutes of the "Alliance"—L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre.

Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire.

It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war, the General Council of the International denounced the Prussian plans of conquest against France. Later on, Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favour of the Government of National Defence; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London were made—certainly with the best of intentions—in spite of the General Council, which, in its address of the 9th of September, had distinctly forwarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues.

What would Jules Favre say if, in its turn, the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the Cabinets of Europe, drawing their particular attention to the documents published at Paris by the late M. Millière?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

*JOHN HALES,*

Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

London, June 12th, 1871.

Written by Marx and Engels
in English

Published in *The Times* No. 27088, June 13, 1871, and in a number of the International's organs

Printed according to the text in *The Times*

## TO THE *TIMES*[440]

The General Council of this Association has instructed me to state in reply to your leader of June 19, 1871, on the "International" the following facts:

The pretended Paris manifestoes, published by the *Paris-Journal* and similar journals—manifestoes which are mere fabrications of the Versailles police—you place on the same line as our "Address on the Civil War in France".

You say:

> "The 'political notes' published by Professor Beesly, and quoted the other day in these columns, are quoted also, with entire approval, in the Address of the Council, and we can now understand how justly the Ex-Emperor was entitled to be called the saviour of society."

Now, the Council, in its Address, quotes nothing from the "political notes" except the testimony of the writer, who is a known and honourable French *savant*,* as to the personal character of the *"Internationals"* implicated in the last Paris revolution.** What has this to do with the "Ex-Emperor" and the Society saved by him? The "programme" of the Association was not, as you say, "prepared" by Messrs. Tolain and Odger "seven years ago". It was issued by the Provisional Council, chosen at the pub-

* Scientist.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 410-11 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

lic meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on 28 September 1864. M. Tolain has never been a member of that Council, nor was he present at London, when the programme was drawn up.

You say that "Millière" was "one of the most ferocious members of the Commune". Millière has never been a member of the Commune.

"We," you proceed, "should also point out that *Assi*, lately President of the Association, etc."

Assi has never been a member of the "International", and as to the dignity of "President of the Association", it has been abolished long ago, 1867.[441]

Written by Marx

Published for the first time in the original

## STATEMENT ON HOLYOAKE'S LETTER[442]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *DAILY NEWS*

Sir,

I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to state, in reply to Mr. Geo Jacob Holyoake's letter in Tuesday's *Daily News*.

1. As to the insinuation that the address issued by the Council "may become a cause of death or deportation at Versailles", the Council thinks that its Paris friends are better judges than Mr. Holyoake.

2. It is a rule with the Council that the names of all its members whether absent or present are appended to its public documents. On this occasion, however, an exception was made, and the consent of absent members was formally requested.

3. As to the statement that this address "cannot be an English production, though manifestly revised by some Saxon or Celtic pen", the Council begs to observe that, as a matter of course, the productions of an international society cannot have any national character. However, the Council need not have any secrets in this matter. The address, like many previous publications of the Council, was drawn up by the Corresponding Secretary for Germany, Dr. Karl Marx, was adopted unanimously and "revised" by nobody.

4. On the . . .* 1870, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake presented himself as a candidate for membership of the Council but was not admitted.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Secretary to General Council, I.W.M.A.

Written by Engels in English

Published in *The Daily News*, June 23, 1871, and *The Eastern Post* No. 143, June 24, 1871

Printed according to the MS

* A gap in the MS.—*Ed.*

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE *SPECTATOR* (RESP. *EXAMINER*)[443]

Sir,

You will much oblige the General Council of the International Working Men's Association by giving publication to the fact that all the pretended manifestoes, and other publications of the "International" of Paris, with which the English Press is now teeming (and which all of them were at first published by the notorious *Paris-Journal*), are without one exception pure fabrication of the Versailles police.

I am ....

Written by Engels about June 21, 1871

Published for the first time in the original

## STATEMENT ON THE LETTERS OF HOLYOAKE AND LUCRAFT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *DAILY NEWS*

Sir,—I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to reply to the letters of Messrs. G. J. Holyoake and B. Lucraft, which appeared in your issue of Monday last. I find, on referring to the Minutes of the Council, that Mr. Holyoake attended a meeting of the Council, by permission, on the 16th of November, 1869, and during the sitting expressed his desire to become a member of the Council, and to attend the next General Congress of the International, to be held in Paris, September, 1870. After he had retired, Mr. John Weston proposed him as a candidate for membership, but the proposition was received in such a manner that Mr. Weston did not insist, but withdrew it. With regard to Mr. Lucraft's statement that he was not present when the address was voted upon, I may say that Mr. Lucraft was present at a meeting of the Council held on the 23rd of May, 1871, when it was officially announced that the draft of the address on the *Civil War in France* would be read and discussed at the next ordinary meeting of the Council, May the 30th. It was therefore left entirely to Mr. Lucraft to decide whether he would be present or absent upon that occasion, and not only did he know that it was the rule

of the Council to append the names of all its members, present or absent, to its public documents, but he was one of the most strenuous supporters of that rule, and resisted on several occasions attempts made to dispense with it—on May 23, amongst others—and he then voluntarily informed the Council that "his entire sympathy was with the Commune of Paris". On Tuesday evening, June 20, at a meeting of the Council, Mr. Lucraft was forced to admit that he had not even then read the address itself, but that all his impressions about it were derived from the statements of the press. With respect to Mr. Odger's repudiation, all I can say is that he was waited upon personally and informed that the Council was about to issue an address, and was asked if he objected to his name appearing in connection with it, and he said "No". The public can draw its own conclusions. I may add that the resignations of Messrs. Lucraft and Odger have been accepted by the Council unanimously.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

*JOHN HALES*,

Secretary to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

256, High Holborn, W.C.

Written by Engels on June 27, 1871

Published in *The Daily News*, June 29, 1871, and in *The Eastern Post* No. 144, July 1, 1871

Printed according to the text in *The Daily News*

## MR. WASHBURNE, THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN PARIS[444]

TO THE NEW YORK CENTRAL COMMITTEE
FOR THE UNITED STATES' SECTIONS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

*Citizens,*—The General Council of the Association consider it their duty to communicate publicly to you evidence on the conduct, during the French Civil War, of Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador.

### I

The following statement is made by Mr. Robert Reid, a Scotchman who has lived for seventeen years in Paris, and acted during the Civil War as a correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald.*[445] Let us remark, in passing, that the *Daily Telegraph,* in the interests of the Versailles Government, falsified even the short telegraphic despatches transmitted to it by Mr. Reid.

Mr. Reid, now in England, is ready to confirm his statement by affidavit.

"The sounding of the general alarm, mingled with the roar of the cannon, continued all night. To sleep was impossible. Where, I thought, are the representatives of Europe and America? Can it be possible that in the midst of this effusion of innocent blood they should make no effort at conciliation? I could bear the thought no longer; and knowing that Mr. Washburne was in town, I resolved at once to go and see

him. This was, I think, on the 17th of April; the exact date may, however, be ascertained from my letter to Lord Lyons, to whom I wrote on the same day. Crossing the Champs Elysées, on my way to Mr. Washburne's residence, I met numerous ambulance-waggons filled with the wounded and dying. Shells were bursting around the Arc de Triomphe, and many innocent people were added to the long list of M. Thiers's victims.

"Arriving at No. 95, Rue de Chaillot, I inquired at the Concierge's for the United States' Ambassador, and was directed to the second floor. The particular flight or flat you dwell in is, in Paris, an almost unerring indication of your wealth and position,—a sort of social barometer. We find here a marquis on the first front floor, and an humble mechanic on the fifth back floor,—the stairs that divide them represent the social gulf between them. As I climbed up the stairs, meeting no stout flunkeys in red breeches and silk stockings, I thought, 'Ah! the Americans lay their money out to the best advantage,—we throw ours away.'

"Entering the secretary's room, I inquired for Mr. Washburne.—Do you wish to see him personally?—I do.—My name having been sent in, I was ushered into his presence. He was lounging in an easy-chair, reading a newspaper. I expected he would rise; but he remained sitting with the paper still before him, an act of gross rudeness in a country where the people are generally so polite.

"I told Mr. Washburne that we were betraying the cause of humanity, if we did not endeavour to bring about a conciliation. Whether we succeeded or not, it was at all events our duty to try; and the moment seemed the more favourable, as the Prussians were just then pressing Versailles for a definitive settlement. The united influence of America and England would turn the balance in favour of peace.

"Mr. Washburne said, '*The men in Paris are rebels. Let them lay down their arms.*' I replied that the National Guards had a legal right to their arms; but that was not the question. When humanity is outraged, the civilised world has a right to interfere, and I ask you to co-operate with Lord Lyons to that effect.—Mr. Washburne: 'These men at Versailles will listen to nothing.'—'If they refuse, the moral responsibility will rest with them.'—Mr. Washburne: 'I don't see that. I can't do anything in the matter. You had better see Lord Lyons.'

"So ended our interview. I left Mr. Washburne sadly disappointed. I found a man rude and haughty, with none of those feelings of fraternity you might expect to find in the representative of a democratic republic. On two occasions I had had the honour of an interview with Lord Cowley, when he was our representative in France. His frank, courteous manner formed a striking contrast to the cold, pretentious, and would-be-aristocratic style of the American Ambassador.

"I also urged upon Lord Lyons that, in the defence of humanity, England was bound to make an earnest effort at reconciliation, feeling convinced that the British Government could not look coldly on such atrocities as the massacres of the Clamart station and Moulin Saquet, not to speak of the horrors of Neuilly, without incurring the malediction of every lover of humanity. Lord Lyons answered me verbally through Mr. Edward Malet, his secretary, that he had forwarded my letter to the Government, and would willingly forward any other communication I might have to make on that subject. At one moment matters were most favourable for reconciliation, and had our Government thrown their weight in the balance, the world would have been spared the carnage of Paris. At all events, it is not the fault of Lord Lyons if the British Government failed in their duty.

"But, to return to Mr. Washburne. On Wednesday forenoon, the 24th of May, I was passing along the Boulevard des Capucines, when I heard my name called, and, turning round, saw Dr. Hossart standing beside Mr. Washburne, who was in an open carriage amidst a great number of Americans. After the usual salutations, I entered into a conversation with Dr. Hossart. Presently the conversation became general on the horrid scenes around; when Mr. Washburne, addressing me with the air of a man who knows the truth of what he is saying,—'*All who belong to the Commune, and those that sympathise with them, will be shot.*' Alas! I knew that they were killing old and young for the crime of *sympathy*, but I did not expect to hear it semi-officially from Mr. Washburne; yet, while he was *repeating* this sanguinary phrase, there was still time for him to save the Archbishop."[446]

## II

"On the 24th of May, Mr. Washburne's secretary came to offer to the Commune, then assembled at the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement, on the part of the Prussians, an intervention between the Versaillese and the Federals on the following terms:—

" 'Suspension of hostilities.

" 'Re-election of the Commune on the one side, and of the National Assembly on the other.

" 'The Versailles troops to leave Paris, and to take up their quarters in and around the fortifications.

" 'The National Guard to continue to guard Paris.

" 'No punishment to be inflicted upon the men serving or having served in the Federal Army.'

"The Commune, in an extraordinary sitting, accepted the propositions, with the proviso that two months should be given to France

in order to prepare for the general elections of a Constituent Assembly.

"A second interview with the Secretary of the American Embassy took place. At its morning sitting of the 25th May, the Commune resolved to send five citizens—amongst them Vermorel, Delescluze, and Arnold—as plenipotentiaries to Vincennes, where, according to the information given by Mr. Washburne's secretary, a Prussian delegate would then be found. That deputation was, however, prevented from passing by the National Guards on duty at the gate of Vincennes. Consequent upon another and final interview with the same American Secretary, Citizen Arnold, to whom he had delivered a safe conduct, on the 26th May, went to St. Denis, where he was—*not* admitted by the Prussians.

"The result of this American intervention (which produced a belief in the renewed neutrality of, and the intended intercession between the belligerents, by the Prussians) was, at the most critical juncture, to paralyse the defence for two days. Despite the precautions taken to keep the negotiations secret, they became soon known to the National Guards, who then, full of confidence in Prussian neutrality, fled to the Prussian lines, there to surrender as prisoners. It is known how this confidence was abused by the Prussians, shooting by their sentries part of the fugitives, and handing over to the Versailles Government those who had surrendered.

"During the whole course of the Civil War, Mr. Washburne, through his secretary, never tired of informing the Commune of his ardent sympathies, which only his diplomatic position prevented him from publicly manifesting, and of his decided reprobation of the Versailles Government."

This statement, No. II, is made by a member of the Paris Commune,* who, like Mr. Reid, will in case of need, confirm it by affidavit.

To fully appreciate Mr. Washburne's conduct, the statements of Mr. Robert Reid and that of the member of the Paris Commune must be read as a whole, as part and counterpart of the same scheme. While Mr. Washburne declares to Mr. Reid that the Communals are "rebels" who deserve their fate, he declares to the Commune his sympathies with its cause and his contempt of the Versailles Government. *On the same 24th of May*, while, in presence of Dr. Hossart and many Americans, informing Mr. Reid

* Serraillier.—*Ed.*

that not only the Communals but even their mere sympathisers were irrevocably doomed to death, he informed, through his secretary, the Commune that not only its members were to be saved, but every man in the Federal army.

We now request you, dear Citizens, to lay these facts before the Working Class of the United States, and to call upon them to decide whether Mr. Washburne is a proper representative of the American Republic.

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association:

*M. J. BOON, FRED. BRADNICK, G. H. BUTTERY, CAIHIL, WILLIAM HALES, KOLB, F. LESSNER, GEORGE MILNER, THOS. MOTTERSHEAD, CHAS. MURRAY, P. MAC DONNELL, PFÄNDER, JOHN ROACH, RÜHL, SADLER, COWELL STEPNEY, ALFRED TAYLOR, W. TOWNSHEND*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*EUGÈNE DUPONT*, for France; *KARL MARX*, for Germany and Holland; *F. ENGELS*, for Belgium and Spain; *H. JUNG*, for Switzerland; *P. GIOVACCHINI*, for Italy; *ZÉVY MAURICE*, for Hungary; *ANTON ZABICKI*, for Poland; *JAMES COHEN*, for Denmark; *J. G. ECCARIUS*, for the United States

*HERMANN JUNG*, Chairman
*JOHN WESTON*, Treasurer
*GEORGE HARRIS*, Financial Secretary
*JOHN HALES*, General Secretary

*Office—256, High Holborn, London, W.C., July 11th*, 1871

Written by Karl Marx

Published as a leaflet about July 13, 1871, and in a number of the International's organs in July-September 1871

Printed according to the text of the leaflet

## TO THE BELGIAN FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION*[447]

London, 9 August 1871

Compagnons,

Le Conseil Général vient de recevoir une délégation des ouvriers mécaniciens de Newcastle.

Ces ouvriers, vous le savez, sont en grève depuis plusieurs semaines déjà pour obtenir une diminution d'une heure de travail, à la journée. Par conséquent pour ne plus travailler que 9 heures par jour.

Ce mouvement, vous le voyez, est tout à fait le même que celui que les mécaniciens de Verviers ont entrepris.

Or, les ouvriers de Newcastle, qui se croient sur le point de réussir et de triompher entièrement dans leurs réclamations, viennent d'apprendre que leurs patrons se sont rendus sur le continent, afin d'aller embaucher des travailleurs qu'ils trompent par de fausses promesses comme ils le font généralement.

Il paraîtrait que les patrons sont parvenus à embaucher 3 000 ouvriers, la plupart belges, qui d'ici à peu de temps devaient venir supplanter leurs confrères anglais.

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* See Appendix, pp. 486-87.—*Ed.*

Le Conseil Général ne peut laisser accomplir un tel acte. Il doit naturellement faire tous ses efforts pour empêcher les travailleurs d'aggraver eux-mêmes leur position en se faisant entre eux une concurrence désastreuse.

Il a donc décidé que deux délégués seraient envoyés en Belgique pour ramener les ouvriers belges à de meilleurs sentiments et tâcher de leur faire comprendre qu'il est de leur devoir d'aider les ouvriers anglais et non d'essayer de les supplanter[448].

Le Conseil Général belge ne voudra pas rester en arrière.

Nous espérons donc, Compagnons, que vous ferez tout votre possible pour empêcher une telle action de la part des Belges. Nous espérons surtout que ceux-ci comprendront, quelle ingratitude il y aurait de leur part à venir (entraver) faire échouer les justes réclamations des travailleurs anglais au moment où ces derniers viennent de donner un si bel exemple de solidarité en soutenant la grève des cigariers d'Anvers.

A propos de cette grève. Les ouvriers belges justement froissés de l'arrivée d'ouvriers hollandais, se sont cru le droit de recevoir ceux-ci comme des ennemis et des rixes malheureux se sont élevés entre des prolétaires, à la grande joie de nos éternels ennemis.

Qui nous répond que les Belges ne seront pas accueillis de la même manière à Newcastle et dans ce cas à qui devront-ils s'en prendre?

A eux et eux seuls.

Nous engageons vivement le Conseil Général belge à informer toutes les sections belges de l'arrivée des délégués anglais, à convoquer dans le plus bref délai les ouvriers mécaniciens, à leur exposer la situation de leurs confrères et à les engager non pas à venir les supplanter, mais bien plutôt à leur porter aide et secours.

Nous espérons aussi, que le Conseil voudra bien porter ces faits à la connaissance de tous les journaux ouvriers, afin que ceux-ci puissent agir simultanément et empêcher

ainsi une injustice flagrante qui ternirait dans toute l'Angleterre la réputation des ouvriers belges.

P.S. Les compagnons J.G. Eccarius et James Cohen sont les délégués chacun pour le Conseil Général.

*ALFRED HERMAN*

Secrétaire correspondant pour la Belgique[449]

Written by Alfred Herman in French

Published for the first time in the original

## DECLARATION ON NECHAYEV'S MISUSE OF THE NAME OF THE INTERNATIONAL[450]

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

The Conference of the Delegates of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at London from the 17th to the 23d September 1871, has charged the General Council to declare publicly:

that *Netschajeff* has never been a member or an agent of the International Working Men's Association;

that his assertions* to have founded a branch at Brussels and to have been sent by a Brussels branch on a mission to Geneva are false;

that the above-said Netschajeff has fraudulently used the name of the International Working Men's Association in order to make dupes and victims in Russia.

By order of the General Council, etc.

14 October, 1871

Written by Marx

Published for the first time in the original

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* The German text, published in *Der Volksstaat*, has the following words inserted here: "(durch den politischen Prozess zu St. Petersburg bekannt wordenen)" ("made known through the political process in St. Petersburg").—*Ed.*

# RESOLUTION ON THE RULES OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF 1871*[451]

SÉANCE DU CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL, 17 OCTOBRE 1871

AUX CITOYENS MEMBRES DE LA SECTION FRANÇAISE DE 1871

Citoyens,

Vu les articles suivants des résolutions administratives votées par le Congrès de Bâle: Article 4. « Chaque nouvelle section ou société qui se forme et peut faire partie de l'Internationale doit annoncer immédiatement son adhésion au Conseil Général. »

Article 5. « Le Conseil Général a le droit d'admettre ou de refuser l'affiliation de toute nouvelle société, groupe, etc.»[452]

Le Conseil Général confirme les Statuts de la Section française de 1871 avec les modifications suivantes:

I. Que dans l'article 2 soient rayés les mots « *Justifier de ses moyens d'existence* » et qu'on mette simplement : pour être reçu membre de la section il faut présenter des garanties de moralité, etc.

L'art. 9 des Statuts Généraux dit :

« Quiconque adopte et défend les principes de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs peut en être reçu membre. Chaque branche est responsable de l'intégrité des membres qu'elle admet. (*Every Branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits*).[453]

* See Appendix, pp. 488-91.—*Ed.*

Dans des cas douteux une section peut bien prendre des informations sur les moyens d'existence comme « Garantie de moralité » tandis que dans d'autres cas, comme celui des réfugiés, des ouvriers en grève, etc., etc., l'absence de justification des moyens d'existence peut bien être une garantie de moralité. Mais demander aux candidats de justifier de leurs moyens d'existence comme condition générale pour être admis dans l'Internationale serait une innovation bourgeoise contraire à la lettre et à l'esprit des Statuts Généraux.

II. 1) Considérant que l'article 4 des Statuts Généraux dit:

« The Congress elects the members of the General Council with power to add to their number (Le Congrès nommera les membres du Conseil Général en laissant à ce dernier le droit de s'adjoindre de nouveaux membres)[454] »; que par conséquent les Statuts Généraux ne reconnaissent que deux modes d'élections pour les membres du Conseil Général, soit leur élection par le Congrès, soit leur nomination par le Conseil Général ; que le passage suivant de l'Article 11 des Statuts de la Section française de 1871 « Un ou plusieurs délégués seront envoyés au Conseil Général » . . . est donc contraire aux Statuts Généraux qui ne donnent à aucune branche, section, groupe ou fédération le *droit* d'envoyer des délégués au Conseil Général.

Que l'Art. 12 du Règlement prescrit : « il est libre à chaque section de rédiger ses Statuts particuliers et ses règlements conformément aux circonstances locales et aux lois de son pays ; *mais ils ne doivent en rien être contraires aux Statuts généraux* ».[455]

Pour ces motifs :

Le Conseil Général ne peut admettre le paragraphe susdit des Statuts de la « Section française de 1871 ».

2. Il est bien vrai que les différentes sections existant à Londres avaient été invitées à envoyer des délégués au

Conseil Général qui pour ne pas enfreindre les Statuts Généraux a toujours procédé de la manière suivante :

Il a d'abord déterminé le nombre des délégués à envoyer par chaque section au Conseil Général se réservant le droit de les accepter ou de les refuser suivant qu'il les jugeait propres aux fonctions générales qu'il doit remplir : les délégués devenaient membres du Conseil Général non en vertu de la délégation qu'ils avaient reçue de leur section mais en vertu du droit que les Statuts Généraux donnent au Conseil de s'adjoindre de nouveaux membres.

Ayant fonctionné jusqu'à la décision prise par la dernière Conférence et comme Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et comme Conseil Central de l'Angleterre, le Conseil de Londres trouva utile d'admettre en dehors des membres qu'il s'adjoignait directement des membres délégués en premier lieu par leur section respective.

On se tromperait étrangement en voulant assimiler le mode d'élection du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale de Travailleurs avec celui du Conseil fédéral de Paris lequel n'était même pas un Conseil national nommé par un Congrès national comme par exemple le Conseil fédéral de Bruxelles et le Conseil fédéral de Madrid.

Le Conseil fédéral de Paris n'étant qu'une délégation des sections parisiennes, les délégués de ces sections pouvaient bien être investis du mandat impératif auprès d'un Conseil où ils avaient à défendre les intérêts de leur section. Le mode d'élection du Conseil Général est au contraire déterminé par les Statuts Généraux et ses membres ne sauraient accepter d'autre mandat impératif que celui des Statuts et Règlements Généraux.

3. Le Conseil Général est prêt à admettre deux délégués de la « Section française 1871 » sous les conditions prescrites par les Statuts Généraux et jamais contestées par les autres sections existantes à Londres.

III. Dans l'Article 11 des Statuts de la « Section française de 1871 » se trouve ce paragraphe :

*«Tout membre de la section s'engage à n'accepter aucune délégation au Conseil Général autre que de sa section.»*

Littéralement interprêté, ce paragraphe pourrait être accepté puisqu'il dirait seulement qu'un membre de la « Section française de 1871 » ne devra pas se présenter au Conseil Général comme délégué d'une autre section.

Mais prenant en considération le paragraphe qui le précède, il n'a d'autre sens que de changer complètement la composition du Conseil Général et d'en faire contrairement à l'Art. 3 des Statuts Généraux une délégation des sections de Londres, où l'influence des groupes locaux se substituerait à celle de toute l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs*.

Ce sens du paragraphe cité de l'Article 11 des Statuts de la « Section française de 1871 » se trouve pleinement confirmé par l'obligation qu'il impose d'opter entre le titre de membre de la Section et la fonction de membre du Conseil Général.

Pour ces motifs, le Conseil Général ne peut admettre le susdit paragraphe comme contraire aux Statuts Généraux et comme le privant de son droit de recruter ses forces partout dans l'intérêt général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

IV. Le Conseil Général est convaincu que la « Section française de 1871 » comprendra la nécessité des modifications proposées et n'hésitera pas à conformer ses Statuts particuliers à la lettre et à l'esprit des Statuts et Règlements Généraux et qu'elle préviendra ainsi tout désaccord qui dans les circonstances actuelles ne pourrait qu'entraver le mouvement ascendant de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

Salut et égalité.

Au nom et par ordre du Conseil Général, le secrétaire correspondant pour la France,

*AUGUSTE SERRAILLIER*

Drawn up by Marx in French

Printed according to Serraillier's copy

# RESOLUTIONS
# OF THE CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION,

ASSEMBLED AT LONDON FROM 17th TO 23rd SEPTEMBER 1871[456]

*(Circular Issued by the General Council of the Association)*

## I

### COMPOSITION OF GENERAL COUNCIL[457]

The Conference invites the General Council to limit the number of those members whom it adds to itself, and to take care that such adjunctions be not made too exclusively from citizens belonging to the same nationality.

## II

### DESIGNATIONS OF NATIONAL COUNCILS, etc.[458]

1.—In conformity with a Resolution of the Congress of Basel (1869), the Central Councils of the various countries where the *International* is regularly organised, shall designate themselves henceforth as *Federal Councils* or *Federal Committees* with the names of their respective countries attached, the designation of *General Council* being reserved for the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association.

2.—All local branches, sections, groups and their committees are henceforth to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, groups

Circular issued by the General Council on the occasion
of the London Conference of 1871
(English, French and German editions)

# RESOLUTIONS

## OF THE CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES

of the

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

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*Assembled at London from* 17th *to* 23rd *September* 1871

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(Circular issued by the General Council of the Association)

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LONDON
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION
by the
*International Printing Office.*
1871.

# RÉSOLUTIONS

DES DÉLÉGUÉS DE LA CONFÉRENCE

DE

## L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE

*DES*

## TRAVAILLEURS.

*Réunie à Londres, du* 17 *au* 23 *Septembre* 1871.

( Circulaire publiée par le Conseil Général de l'Association)

LONDRES

*Imprimé pour l'Association, par l'Imprimerie Internationale.*

1871.

# Beſchlüſſe

der

# Delegirtenkonferenz

der

## Internationalen Arbeiteraſſoziation.

abgehalten

**zu London vom 17. bis 23. September 1871.**

(Separatabdruck aus dem „Volksſtaat“.)

Leipzig.

(Verlag der Expedition des „Volksſtaat“.)

and committees of the *International Working Men's Association* with the names of their respective localities attached.

3.—Consequently, no branches, sections, or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies under the name of *sections of propaganda,* etc., pretending to accomplish special missions, distinct from the common purposes of the Association.

4.—Resolutions 1 and 2 do not, however, apply to affiliated *Trades' Unions.*

## III

## DELEGATES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL[459]

All delegates appointed to distinct missions by the General Council shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal Councils, or Committees, district and local Committees and branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.

## IV

## CONTRIBUTION OF 1d.* PER MEMBER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL[460]

1.—The General Council shall cause to be printed adhesive stamps representing the value of one penny each, which will be annually supplied, in the numbers to be asked for, to the Federal Councils or Committees.

2.—The Federal Councils or Committees shall provide the local Committees, or, in their absence, their respective sections, with the number of stamps corresponding to the number of their members.

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* In the German edition next comes: ("Groschen"); in the French edition, here and below "1d." is replaced by "10 centimes".—*Ed.*

3.—These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the *livret* or to the Rules which every member is held to possess.

4.—On the 1st of March of each year, the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries shall forward to the General Council the amount of the stamps disposed of, and return the unsold stamps remaining on hand.

5.—These stamps, representing the value of the individual contributions, shall bear the date of the current year.

## V

## FORMATION OF WORKING WOMEN'S BRANCHES[461]

The Conference recommends the formation of female branches among the working class. It is, however, understood that this resolution does not at all interfere with the existence or formation of branches composed of both sexes.

## VI

## GENERAL STATISTICS OF THE WORKING CLASS[462]

1.—The Conference invites the General Council to enforce Article 5 of the original Rules relating to a general statistics of the working class, and the resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, on the same subject.[463]

2.—Every local branch is bound to appoint a special committee of statistics, so as to be always ready, within the limits of its means, to answer any questions which may be addressed to it by the Federal Council or Committee of its country, or by the General Council. It is recommended to all branches to remunerate the secretaries of the committees of statistics, considering the general benefit the working class will derive from their labour.

3.—On the first of August of each year the Federal Councils or Committees will transmit the materials col-

lected in their respective countries to the General Council which, in its turn, will have to elaborate them into a general report, to be laid before the Congresses or Conferences annually held in the month of September.

4.—Trades' Unions and international branches refusing to give the information required, shall be reported to the General Council which will take action thereupon.

## VII

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF TRADES' UNIONS[464]

The General Council is invited to assist, as has been done hitherto, the growing tendency of the Trades' Unions of the different countries to enter into relations with the Unions of the same trade in all other countries. The efficiency of its action as the international agent of communication between the national Trades' Societies will essentially depend upon the assistance given by these same societies to the General Labour Statistics pursued by the *International*.

The boards of Trades' Unions of all countries are invited to keep the General Council informed of the directions of their respective offices.

## VIII

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS[465]

1.—The Conference invites the General Council and the Federal Councils or Committees to prepare, for the next Congress, reports on the means of securing the adhesion of the agricultural producers to the movement of the industrial proletariat.

2.—Meanwhile, the Federal Councils or Committees are invited to send agitators to the rural districts, there to organise public meetings, to propagate the principles of the International and to found rural branches.

## IX

## POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS[466]

Considering the following passage of the preamble to the Rules: "The economical emancipation of the working classes is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate *as a means*";

That the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association (1864) states: "The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour.... To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes"[467];

That the Congress of Lausanne (1867) has passed this resolution: "The social emancipation of the workmen is inseparable from their political emancipation"[468];

That the declaration of the General Council relative to the pretended plot of the French Internationals on the eve of the plebiscite (1870) says: "Certainly by the tenor of our Statutes, all our branches in England, on the Continent, and in America have the special mission not only to serve as centres for the militant organisation of the working class, but also to support, in their respective countries, every political movement tending towards the accomplishment of our ultimate end—the economical emancipation of the working class"[469];

That false translations of the original Statutes have given rise to various interpretations which were mischievous to the development and action of the International Working Men's Association;

In presence of an unbridled reaction which violently crushes every effort at emancipation on the part of the working men, and pretends to maintain by brute force the

distinction of classes and the political domination of the propertied classes resulting from it;

Considering, that against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes;

That this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the Social Revolution and its ultimate end—the abolition of classes;

That the combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists—

The Conference recalls to the members of the *International*:

That in the militant state of the working class, its economical movement and its political action are indissolubly united.

## X

### GENERAL RESOLUTION AS TO THE COUNTRIES WHERE THE REGULAR ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL IS INTERFERED WITH BY THE GOVERNMENTS[470]

In those countries where the regular organisation of the *International* may for the moment have become impracticable in consequence of government interference, the Association, and its local groups, may be reformed under various other names, but all secret societies properly so called are and remain formally excluded.

## XI

### RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO FRANCE[471]

1.—The Conference expresses its firm conviction that all persecutions will only double the energy of the adherents

of the *International*, and that the branches will continue to organise themselves, if not by great centres, at least by workshops and federations of workshops corresponding with each other by their delegates.

2.—Consequently, the Conference invites all branches vigorously to persist in the propaganda of our principles in France and to import into their country as many copies as possible of the publications and Statutes of the *International*.

## XII

## RESOLUTION RELATING TO ENGLAND[472]

The Conference invites the General Council to call upon the English branches in London to form a Federal Committee for London which, after its recognition by the provincial branches and affiliated societies, shall be recognised, by the General Council, as the *Federal Council for England*.

## XIII

## SPECIAL VOTES OF THE CONFERENCE[473]

1.—The Conference approves of the adjunction of the members of the Paris Commune whom the General Council has added to its number.

2.—The Conference declares that the German working men have done their duty during the Franco-German war.

3.—The Conference fraternally thanks the members of the Spanish Federation for the memorandum presented by them on the organisation of the International by which they have once more proved their devotion to our common work.

4.—The General Council shall immediately publish a declaration to the effect that the International Working Men's Association is utterly foreign to the so-called conspiracy of Nechayev who has fraudulently usurped its name.

## XIV

## INSTRUCTION TO CITIZEN OUTINE[474]

Citizen Outine is invited to publish in the journal l'*Egalité* a succinct report, from the Russian papers, of the Nechayev trial. Before publication, his report will be submitted to the General Council.

## XV

## CONVOCATION OF NEXT CONGRESS[475]

The Conference leaves it to the discretion of the General Council to fix, according to events, the day and place of meeting of the next Congress or Conference.

## XVI

## ALLIANCE DE LA DEMOCRATIE SOCIALISTE (THE ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY)[476]

Considering, that the "Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste" has declared itself dissolved (see letter to the General Council d.d. Geneva, 10th August 1871, signed by Citizen N. Joukowsky, Secretary to the "Alliance");

That in its sitting of the 18th September (see No. II of this circular) the Conference has decided that all existing organisations of the *International* shall, in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the General Rules, henceforth designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, federations, etc., of the International Working Men's Association with the names of their respective localities attached;

That the existing branches and societies shall therefore no longer be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies under the names *of sections of propaganda, Alliance de la Démocratie*

*socialiste*, etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Associatioin;

That henceforth the General Council of the International Working Men's Association will in this sense have to interpret and apply Article 5 of the administrative resolutions[477] of the Basel Congress: "The General Council has the right either to accept or to refuse the affiliation of any new section or group," etc.*;

The Conference declares the question of the "Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste" to be settled.

## XVII

## SPLIT IN THE FRENCH-SPEAKING PART OF SWITZERLAND[478]

1.—The different exceptions taken by the Federal Committee of the Mountain** sections as to the competency of the Conference are declared inadmissible. (This is but a résumé of Article 1 which will be printed in full in the *Egalité* of Geneva.)

2.—The Conference confirms the decision of the General Council of June 29th, 1870.[479]

At the same time, in view of the persecutions which the *International* is at present undergoing, the Conference appeals to the feelings of fraternity and union which more than ever ought to animate the working class;

It invites the brave working men of the Mountain sections to rejoin the sections of the Romand Federation;

In case such an amalgamation should prove impracticable, it decides that the dissident Mountain sections shall henceforth name themselves the *"Jurassian Federation"*.

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* In the German and French editions the word "etc." is replaced by the following: "subject to appeal to the next Congress".—*Ed.*

** Jura.—*Ed.*

The Conference gives warning that henceforth the General Council will be bound to publicly denounce and disavow all organs of the International which, following the precedents of the *Progrès* and the *Solidarité,* should discuss in their columns, before the middle-class public, questions exclusively reserved for the local or Federal Committees and the General Council, or for the private and administrative sittings of the Federal or General Congresses.

NOTICE

The resolutions not intended for publicity will be communicated to the Federal Councils or Committees of the various countries by the corresponding secretaries of the General Council.

By order and in the name of the Conference,

The General Council:

*R. APPLEGARTH, M. J. BOON, FRED. BRADNICK, G. H. BUTTERY, DELAHAYE, EUGÈNE DUPONT* (on mission), *W. HALES, G. HARRIS, HURLIMAN, JULES JOHANNARD, FRED. LESSNER, LOCHNER, CH. LONGUET, C. MARTIN, Z. MAURICE, HENRY MAYO, GEORGE MILNER, CHARLES MURRAY, PFÄNDER, JOHN ROACH, RÜHL, SADLER, COWELL STEPNEY, ALF. TAYLOR, W. TOWNSHEND, E. VAILLANT, JOHN WESTON*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*A. SERRAILLIER*, for France; *KARL MARX*, Germany and Russia; *F. ENGELS*, Italy and Spain; *A. HERMAN*, Belgium;

*J. P. MAC DONNELL*, Ireland; *LE MOUSSU*, for the French branches of the United States; *WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI*, for Poland; *HERMANN JUNG*, for Switzerland; *T. MOTTERSHEAD*, Denmark; *CH. ROCHAT*, Holland; *J. G. ECCARIUS*, United States; *LEO FRANKEL*, Austria and Hungary

*F. ENGELS*, Chairman

*HERMANN JUNG*, Treasurer

*JOHN HALES*, General Secretary

256, High Holborn, W.C.,
London, 17 October 1871

Drawn up, edited and prepared for publication by Marx and Engels in September-October 1871

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Printed according to the text of the English pamphlet

# GENERAL RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[480]

## GENERAL RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

*Considering,*

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class-rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

*For these reasons—*

The International Working Men's Association has been founded.

*It declares*:

That all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality;

That it acknowledges *no rights without duties, no duties without rights*;

And in this spirit the following Rules have been drawn up.

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end; viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be "The International Working Men's Association".

3. There shall annually meet a General Working Men's Congress, consisting of delegates of the branches of the Association. The Congress will have to proclaim the common aspirations of the working class, take the measures required for the successful working of the International Association, and appoint the General Council of the Society.

4. Each Congress appoints the time and place of meeting for the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting. The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council annually. The General Council thus elected shall have power to add to the number of its members.

On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. The latter may, in cases of emergency, convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall consist of working men from the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, &c.

6. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different national and local groups of the Association, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed—as, for instance, in case of international quarrels —the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Asociation shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

8. Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal cooperation, the working men's societies joining the International Association will preserve their existent organisations intact.

12. The present Rules may be revised by each Congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favour of such revision.

13. Everything not provided for in the present Rules will be supplied by special Regulations, subject to the revision of every Congress.

## ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

*Revised in Accordance with the Resolutions Passed by the Congresses (1866 to 1869), and by the London Conference (1871)*

### I

### THE GENERAL CONGRESS

1. Every member of the International Working Men's Association has the right to vote at elections for, and is eligible as, a delegate to the General Congress.

2. Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress.

3. Each delegate has but one vote in the Congress.

4. The expenses of the delegates are to be defrayed by the branches and groups which appoint them.

5. If a branch be unable to send a delegate, it may unite with other neighbouring branches for the appointment of one.

6. Every branch or group consisting of more than 500 members may send an additional delegate for every additional 500 members.

7. Only the delegates of such societies, sections, or groups as form parts of the International, and shall have paid their contributions to the General Council, will in future be allowed to take their seats and to vote at Congresses. Nevertheless, for such countries where the regular establishment of the International may have been prevented by law, delegates of trades' unions and working men's co-operative societies will be allowed to participate in Congress debates on questions of principle, but not to discuss, or to vote on, administrative matters.

8. The sittings of the Congress will be twofold—administrative sittings, which will be private, and public sittings,

reserved for the discussion of, and the vote upon, the general questions of the Congress programme.

9. The Congress programme, consisting of questions placed on the order of the day by the preceding Congress, questions added by the General Council, and questions submitted to the acceptance of that Council by the different sections, groups, or their committees, shall be drawn up by the General Council.

Every section, group, or committee which intends to propose, for the discussion of the impending Congress, a question not proposed by the previous Congress, shall give notice thereof to the General Council before the 31st of March.

10. The General Council is charged with the organisation of each Congress, and shall, in due time, through the medium of the Federal Councils or Committees, bring the Congress programme to the cognisance of the branches.

11. The Congress will appoint as many committees as there shall be questions submitted to it. Each delegate shall designate the committee upon which he may prefer to sit. Each Committee shall read the memorials presented by the different sections and groups on the special question referred to it. It shall elaborate them into one single report, which alone is to be read at the public sittings. It shall moreover decide which of the above memorials shall be annexed to the official report of the Congress transactions.

12. In its public sittings, the Congress will, in the first instance, occupy itself with the questions placed on the order of the day by the General Council, the remaining questions to be discussed afterwards.

13. All resolutions on questions of principle shall be voted upon by division (*appel nominal*).

14. Two months at latest before the meeting of the annual Congress, every branch or federation of branches shall transmit to the General Council a detailed report of its proceedings and development during the current year.

The General Council shall elaborate these elements into one single report, which alone is to be read before Congress.

## II

### THE GENERAL COUNCIL

1. The designation of General Council is reserved for the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association. The Central Councils of the various countries, where the International is regularly organised, shall designate themselves as Federal Councils, or Federal Committees, with the names of the respective countries attached.

2. The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions.

3. As often as its means may permit, the General Council shall publish a *bulletin* or report embracing everything which may be of interest to the International Working Men's Association.

For this purpose it shall collect all the documents to be transmitted by the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries and such others as it may be able to procure by other means.

The *bulletin,* drawn up in several languages, shall be sent gratuitously to the Federal Councils or Committees, which are to forward one copy to each of their branches.

In case the General Council should be unable to publish such *bulletins,* it shall every three months send a written communication to the different Federal Councils or Committees, to be published in the newspapers of their respective countries, and especially in the International organs.

4. Every new branch or society intending to join the International, is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council.

5. The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse the affiliation of any new branch or group, subject to appeal to the next Congress.

Nevertheless, wherever there exist Federal Councils or Committees, the General Council is bound to consult them before admitting or rejecting the affiliation of a new branch or society within their jurisdiction; without prejudice, however, to its right of provisional decision.

6. The General Council has also the right of suspending, till the meeting of next Congress, any branch of the International.

7. In case of differences arising between societies or branches of the same national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right of deciding such differences, subject to appeal to the next Congress, whose decision shall be final.

8. All delegates appointed by the General Council to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal Councils or Committees, district and local Committees, and local branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.

9. English, French, and German editions of the General Rules and Regulations are to be reprinted from the official texts published by the General Council.

All versions of the General Rules and Regulations in other languages shall, before publication, be submitted to the General Council for approval.

## III

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO BE PAID TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL

1. An annual contribution of One Penny per member shall be levied from all branches and affiliated societies for the use of the General Council.

This contribution is intended to defray the expenses of the General Council, such as the remuneration of its General Secretary, costs of correspondence, publications, preparatory work for Congresses, &c., &c.

2. The General Council shall cause to be printed uniform adhesive stamps representing the value of one penny each, to be annually supplied, in the numbers wanted, to the Federal Councils or Committees.

3. These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the *livret* or to a copy of the Rules which every member of the Association is held to possess.*

4. On the 1st of March of each year, the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries shall forward to the General Council the amounts of the stamps disposed of, and return the unsold stamps remaining on hand.

5. These stamps, representing the value of the individual contributions, shall bear the date of the current year.

## IV

### FEDERAL COUNCILS OR COMMITTEES

1. The expenses of the Federal Councils or Committees shall be defrayed by their respective branches.

2. The Federal Councils or Committees shall send one report at least every month to the General Council.

3. The Federal Councils or Committees shall transmit to the General Council every three months a report on the administration and financial state of their respective branches.

4. Any Federation may refuse to admit or may exclude from its midst societies or branches. It is, however, not empowered to deprive them of their International character, but it may propose their suspension to the General Council.

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* In the German and French editions Article 3 reads as follows: "The Federal Councils or Committees shall provide the local Committees, or, in their absence, their respective sections, with the number of stamps corresponding to the number of their members." Then follow articles 4, 5 and 6 which correspond to articles 3, 4 and 5 in the English edition.—*Ed.*

## V

### LOCAL SOCIETIES, BRANCHES, AND GROUPS

1. Every branch is at liberty to make rules and bye-laws for its local administration, adapted to local circumstances and the laws of its country. But these rules and bye-laws must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations.

2. All local branches, groups, and their committees are henceforth to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, groups, and committees of the International Working Men's Association, with the names of their respective localities attached.

3. Consequently, no branches or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names,—such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, &c., or to form separatist bodies, under the name of *sections of propaganda,* &c., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Association.

4. Article 2 of this division does not apply to affiliated Trades' Unions.

5. All sections, branches, and working men's societies affiliated to the International are invited to abolish the office of President of their respective branch or society.

6. The formation of female branches amongst the working class is recommended. It is, however, understood that this resolution does not at all intend to interfere with the existence, or formation of branches composed of both sexes.

7. Wherever attacks against the International are published, the nearest branch or committee is held to send at once a copy of such publication to the General Council.

8. The addresses of the offices of all International Committees and of the General Council are to be published every three months in all the organs of the Association.

VI

GENERAL STATISTICS OF LABOUR

1. The General Council is to enforce Article 6 of the Rules relating to general statistics of the working class, and the Resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, on the same subject.

2. Every local branch is bound to appoint a special Committee of Statistics, so as to be always ready, within the limits of its means, to answer any question which may be put to it by the Federal Council or Committee of its country or by the General Council.

It is recommended to all branches to remunerate the secretaries of the Committees of Statistics, considering the general benefit the working class will derive from their labour.

3. On the 1st of August of each year the Federal Councils or Committees will transmit the materials collected in their respective countries to the General Council, which, in its turn, is to elaborate them into a general report, to be laid before the Congresses or Conferences annually held in the month of September.

4. Trades' Unions and International branches refusing to give the information required, shall be reported to the General Council, which will take action thereupon.

5. The Resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, alluded to in Article 1 of this division, are the following:—

One great International combination of efforts will be a statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all civilised countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves. To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By initiating so great a work, the working men will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands.

The Congress therefore proposes that in each locality, where branches of our Association exist, the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry;

the Congress invites the working men of Europe and the United States of America to co-operate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; reports and evidence to be forwarded to the General Council. The General Council shall elaborate them into a report, adding the evidence as an appendix. This report, together with its appendix, shall be laid before the next annual Congress, and, after having received its sanction, be printed at the expense of the Association.

General scheme of inquiry, which may of course be modified by each locality: 1, Industry, name of. 2. Age and sex of the employed. 3. Number of the employed. 4. Salaries and wages; (*a*) apprentices; (*b*) wages by the day or piece work; scale paid by middle men. Weekly, yearly average. 5. (*a*) Hours of work in factories. (*b*) The hours of work with small employers and in home work, if the business be carried on in those different modes. (*c*) Nightwork and daywork. 6. Meal-times and treatment. 7. Sort of workshop and work; overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, cleanliness, &c. 8. Effect of employment upon the physical condition. 9 Moral condition. Education. 10. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over the year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition —whether destined principally for home or foreign consumption, &c.

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## APPENDIX

The Conference held at London from 17th to 23rd September, 1871, has charged the General Council to issue a new, authentic and revised edition, in English, French, and German, of the "General Rules and Regulations of the International Working Men's Association", for the following reasons:—

## I

## GENERAL RULES

The Geneva Congress (1866) adopted, with a few additions, the Provisional Rules of the Association, published at London in November, 1864. It also decided (see "Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 Septembre, 1866". Genève, 1866, p. 27, note), that the General Council should publish the official and obligatory text of the Rules as well as of the Regulations voted by the Congress. The General Council was prevented from executing this order by the seizure, on the part of the Bonapartist Government, of the Minutes of the Geneva Congress on their transit through France. When at last, through the intercession of Lord Stanley, then British Foreign Secretary, the Minutes were recovered, a French edition had already been issued at Geneva, and the text of the Rules and Regulations contained in it was at once reproduced in all French-speaking countries. This text was faulty in many respects.

1. The Paris edition of the London Provisional Rules had been accepted as a true translation; but the Paris Committee, to which this translation is due, had not only introduced most important alterations in the preamble of the Rules which, on the interpellation of the General Council, were represented as changes unavoidable under the existing political state of France. From an insufficient acquaintance with the English language, it had also misinterpreted some of the articles of the Rules.

2. The Geneva Congress having to give a final character to the Provisional Rules, the Committee appointed for this purpose simply struck out all passages in which anything of a provisional nature was alluded to, without noticing that several of these passages contained most important matter of no provisional character whatever. In the English edition published after the Lausanne Congress (1867) the same omissions are repeated.

## II

## ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

The Administrative Regulations hitherto published conjointly with the Rules, are but those voted by the Geneva Congress (1866). It thus became necessary to codify the further regulations voted by subsequent Congresses and by late London Conference.

The following publications have been made use of for the present revised edition:

"Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association", &c. London. 1864.

"Rules of the International Working Men's Association". London. 1867.

"Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 Septembre, 1866". Genève. 1866.

"Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, réuni à Lausanne, du 2 au 8 Septembre, 1867". Chaux-de-Fonds. 1867.

"Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (Brussels Congress). Compte-rendu officiel". Bruxelles. 1868.

"The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868". London. 1868.

"Compte-rendu du 4me Congrès International, tenu à Bâle en Septembre, 1869", Bruxelles. 1869.

"Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basel, 1869". Published by the General Council. London. 1869.

"Quatrième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Bâle, 1869. Rapport du délégué des Sections de la Fabrique à Genève". Genève. 1869.

"Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the

International Working Men's Association, assembled at London, 1871". London. 1871.

For the Basel Congress, the German report of the Congress proceedings, published in fly-sheets at Basel, and the notes taken during the Congress by the General Secretary, have also been consulted.

How these various sources have been made use of for the purposes of the present revised edition will appear from the following statement.

### *GENERAL RULES*

*Preamble.*—After the words, *"For these reasons"*, there have been restored the words, "the International Working Men's Association has been founded". See Provisional Rules, p. 13.[481]

The passage, "They hold it the duty of a man," &c.,[482] has been omitted, because there exist two equally authentic versions of it, irreconcilable with each other. The true meaning of it is, besides, already contained in the passage immediately preceding, and in that immediately following: "No rights without duties," &c.,

Art. 3 is restored from Art. 3 of Provisional Rules.

Art. 4.—Part of Art. 3 and the whole of Art. 4 of Rules, London, 1867.

Art. 5.—Introductory part of Art. 3, Rules, 1867. The words "a president" have been omitted, in agreement with Administrative Resolution I of Basel Congress.[483]

Art. 6.—Art. 5, Rules, 1867. The words "Co-operating Associations" have been changed into "national and local groups of the Association", because the expression, in some translations, has been misinterpreted as meaning co-operative societies.

Art. 7.—Art. 6, Rules, 1867.

Art. 8.—Art. 10, Rules, 1867.

Art. 10.—Art. 8, Rules, 1867.

Art. 12 forms Art. 13 of the Administrative Regulations in "Rules, 1867".

Art. 13.—Art. 12, Rules, 1867.

Art. 7, Rules, 1867, has been omitted, because its insertion was contrary to a resolution of the Lausanne Congress. See "Procès-verbaux du Congrès de Lausanne", p. 36.

### *ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS*

### *I. The General Congress*

Art. 1.—Art. 11 of Regulations voted by Geneva Congress ("Congrès de Genève", Genève, 1866, p. 26, &c); Art. 10, Rules, &c., 1867, which is incomplete.

Art. 2.—Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 6, Rules, &c., 1867.

Art. 3.—Art. 13, Congrès de Genève; Art. 11, Rules, &c., 1867.

Art. 4.—Art. 10, Congrès de Genève; Art. 9, Rules, &c., 1867.

Art. 5.—Art. 9. Congrès de Genève; Art. 7, Rules, &c., 1867.

Art. 6.—Art. 12, Congrès de Genève; Art. 8, Rules, &c., 1867.

Art. 7.—Basel Administrative Regulations. VIII.

Art. 8.—For this article the "Guide pratique pour le Congrès de l'Internationale ("Compte-rendu du Congrès de Bâle", Bruxelles, 1869) has been completed by the other materials on the Basel Congress, quoted above.

Art. 9.—First part as for Art. 8. Second part, Resolution of Lausanne Congress (Procès-verbaux, p. 74, 1).

Art. 10.—Art. 1*b*, Congrès de Genève; Art. 1*b*, Rules, &c., 1867.

Art. 11.—Guide Pratique, Basel Congress, Art. 3 and 11.

Art. 12.—Guide Pratique, &c., Art. 10.
Art. 13.—Guide Pratique, &c., Art. 7.
Art. 14.—Guide Pratique, &c., Art. 4.

### *II. The General Council*

Art. 1.—London Conference, 1871, II, 1.
Art. 2.—Congrès de Genève, Art. 1; Rules, &c., 1867, Art. 1.
Art. 3.—The two first Alineas, Art. 2 and Art. 1*a*, Congrès de Genève, and Rules, &c., 1867. Third Alinea, Art. 3, Congrès de Genève. Last Alinea, Lausanne Congress, Procès-verbaux, p. 31, Art. 2.
Arts. 4 to 7.—Basel Administrative Resolutions, IV to VII.
Art. 8.—London Conference, III.
Art. 9.—Resolutions of London Conference, sittings of 18th and 22nd September.

### *III. Contributions to Be Paid to the General Council*

Art. 1.—First Alinea, Lausanne Congress, Procès-verbaux, p. 37, 3; and Art. IX, Basel Administrative Resolutions. Second Alinea, Art. 4, Congrès de Genève, and Rules, 1867.
Arts. 2 to 6.—London Conference, IV., 1 to 5.

### *IV. Federal Councils or Committees*

Art. 1.—Art. 6, Congrès de Genève, and Rules, 1867.
Art. 2.—Art. 5, ditto.
Art. 3.—Brussels Congress, "Compte-rendu Officiel", p. 50, Appendice, Séances Administratives, Resolution No. 3.
Art. 4.—Art. VI, Basel Administrative Resolutions.

*V. Local Societies, Branches, and Groups*

Art. 1.—Art. 14, Congrès de Genève; Art. 12, Rules, &c., 1867.

Arts. 2 to 4.—London Conference, II, 2 to 4.

Art. 5.—Art. I, Basel Administrative Resolutions.

Art. 6.—London Conference, V.

Art. 7.—Art. II, Basel Administrative Resolutions.

Art. 8.—Art. III, ditto.

*VI. General Statistics of Labour*

Arts. 1 to 4.—London Conference, VI., 1 to 4.

Art. 5.—Resolution of Geneva Congress (London edition of Geneva and Brussels Congress Resolutions, p. 4).

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*By order, and in the name of the London Conference*, 1871.

The General Council:

*R. APPLEGARTH, M. J. BOON, FRED. BRADNICK, G. H. BUTTERY, P. DELAHAYE, EUGÈNE DUPONT* (on mission), *W. HALES, G. HARRIS, HURLIMAN, JULES JOHANNARD, HARRIET LAW, FRED. LESSNER, LOCHNER, CH. LONGUET, C. MARTIN, ZÉVY MAURICE, HENRY MAYO, GEORGE MILNER, CH. MURRAY, PFÄNDER, JOHN ROACH, RÜHL, SADLER, COWELL STEPNEY, ALFRED TAYLOR, W. TOWNSHEND, E. VAILLANT, JOHN WESTON*

Corresponding Secretaries:

*LEO FRANKEL*, for Austria and Hungary; *A. HERMAN*, Belgium; *T. MOTTERSHEAD*, Denmark; *A. SERRAILLIER*, France; *KARL MARX*, Germany and Russia; *CHARLES*

*ROCHAT*, Holland; *J. P. MAC DONNELL*, Ireland; *FRED. ENGELS*, Italy and Spain; *WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI*, Poland; *HERMANN JUNG*, Switzerland; *J. G. ECCARIUS*, United States; *LE MOUSSU*, for French branches of United States

*CHARLES LONGUET*, Chairman

*HERMANN JUNG*, Treasurer

*JOHN HALES*, General Secretary

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APPENDIX

EXPLANATORY NOTES

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# APPENDIX

## LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY[352]

. . . The military camarilla, the professorate, the citizenry and pot-house politicians maintain that this* is a way of forever keeping Germany from a war with France. On the contrary, it is the surest way of turning this war into a *European institution*. It really is the best way of perpetuating in rejuvenated Germany military despotism as a necessary condition for domination over Alsace and Lorraine, that *Poland of the West*. It is an unfailing method of turning future peace into a mere truce until France regains strength enough to demand the lost territory back. It is an unfailing method of ruining Germany and France by a mutual shooting match.

Rascals and fools who discovered these guarantees of permanent peace should have known, if only from Prussian history, by the example of how cruelly Napoleon had to pay for the Peace of Tilsit,[353] that such coercive measures for bridling a viable people bring just the opposite results. And what is France, even after the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, in comparison with Prussia after the Peace of Tilsit!

If French chauvinism, as long as the *old state* system existed, had a certain material justification in the fact that after 1815 France's capital, Paris, and thereby France

* The reference is to the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.—*Ed.*

herself, stood defenceless after a few lost battles, what new fodder will this chauvinism get as soon as the frontier lies at the Vosges Mountains to the east and at Metz to the north?

That the people of Alsace and Lorraine want to live under the protection of a *German* government, not even the most fanatical* Teuton would maintain. It is the principle of Pan-Germanism and "safe" borders that will be proclaimed and that may be supposed to lead to wonderful results for Germany and Europe in the east.

Anyone not entirely deafened by the present hullabaloo or who is *not interested* in deafening the German people, must understand that the 1870 war is inevitably fraught with the danger of a *war between Germany and Russia,* just as the 1866 war was fraught with the danger of the 1870 war.

I say *inevitably, unfailingly,* if we discount the unlikely event of *Russia* being beset by *revolution* before then.

If this unlikely event does not come off, war between Germany and Russia must even now be regarded as a *fait accompli* (accomplished fact).

Whether the war will be harmful or useful will wholly depend on the present behaviour of the German victors.

If they seize Alsace and Lorraine, France together with Russia will fight against Germany. There is no need to point out the terrible consequences of that.

If they sign an honourable peace treaty with France, this war will have emancipated Europe from the Moscow dictatorship, will have made Prussia dissolve into Germany, will have given a chance to peaceful development in the West of the Continent and, finally, will have helped the social revolution to break through in Russia, the elements of which revolution need a push of this sort from outside

* This word, replaced in the leaflet by dots, was inserted by Engels in his copy of the leaflet.—*Ed.*

to help them on their way; thus, the war will have been useful for the Russian people too.

*But I fear that the rascals and fools will continue playing their rash game unhindered if the German working class does not raise its voice en masse.*

The present war opens up a new epoch in world history by the fact that Germany, even with the exception of German Austria, has shown her ability, *irrespective of the rest of the world*, to go her own way. The fact that she is initially finding her *unity* in *Prussian barracks*, is a punishment which she rightly deserves. But *one* result, even by such means, she has gained all the same. The tiny pieces like, for example, the conflict between the national-liberal North Germans and the People's Party of South Germans,[354] will no longer stand in vain in the way. Relations will develop on a grand scale and will be simplified. If then the German working class does not play the historical role that has come to it, it will be to its shame. *The current war has moved the centre of gravity of the Continental working-class movement from France to Germany.* An even greater responsibility therefore lies with the German working class....

Written by Marx and Engels between August 22 and 30, 1870

Translated from the German

## TO THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE BELGIAN SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[364]

London, December 23, 1870

Citizens,

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association sends its greetings to your Sixth Congress. The very fact that this Congress is taking place goes to prove anew that the Belgian proletariat is tirelessly continuing its efforts to emancipate the working class even when a bloody and fratricidal war fills the whole of Europe with horror and for the moment supplants all other interest in the public mind.

It is particularly gratifying for us to see that, in regard to the war, the Belgian sections are following the line of action and voicing ideas that are prompted by the interests of workers of all countries: repudiation of all idea of conquest and upholding the Republic in France. Moreover, in this respect, our Belgian friends are in complete harmony with workers of other countries.

Since the Prussian occupation of Rouen, the last connections that we still had in France have been severed. But in England, America and Germany the workers' movement against the war of conquest and for the support of the Republic, has been developing rapidly. In Germany especially, the movement acquired such dimensions that the

Prussian Government was obliged, in the interests of its policy of conquest and reaction, to deal severely with the workers. The Central Committee of the German Social-Democrats, resident at Brunswick, was arrested; many members of this party suffered the same fate; and, lastly, two North-German parliamentary deputies, Citizens Bebel and Liebknecht, who represented the views and interests of the working class, were put behind bars. The International is accused of having given all these citizens the signal for a vast revolutionary conspiracy. We have here, without any doubt, the second edition of the celebrated plot of the International at Paris, a plot which the Bonapartist police said they had uncovered and which, afterwards, finished up by evaporating so dismally. In spite of these persecutions the international workers' movement is developing and will continue to develop.

The present Congress offers you an opportunity to ascertain the number of sections and other affiliated societies, the number of members in each of them, so as to get an exact idea about the progress of our movement in Belgium. We would like you to communicate to the General Council the results of these statistics characterising the position of our Association in your country; we will do our best to complete these statistics by information about other countries. It goes without saying that we shall consider this communication to be confidential and that the facts we shall get from there will not be made public.

Furthermore, the General Council dares to hope that the Belgian sections will be able, during the current year 1871, to recollect the resolutions of the different International's congresses relative to the contributions to the Council. The present war makes the contribution of funds from most of the Continental countries impossible, and we are well aware that the Belgian workers too feel the general depression which is the result of this war; the

General Council therefore raises this question only to remind the Belgian sections that without material support it will be unable to give the propaganda the scope it wishes it to have.

In absence of the Secretary for Belgium, Citizen Serraillier, the General Council charged the undersigned with addressing this communication to the Congress.

Greetings and fraternity,

*F. E.*

Written by Engels

Translated from the French

## TO THE SPANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[365]

London, February 13, 1871

Citizens,

It is with a great deal of pleasure that the General Council received your letter of December 14. Your preceding letter dated July 30 also reached us; it was passed on to Citizen Serraillier, Secretary for Spain, with instructions to let you have our reply. But just after that Citizen Serraillier went to France to fight for the Republic and soon found himself locked up in Paris. So, if you haven't received any reply to your letter of July 30, which is still in his hands, it is due to these circumstances. At present, the General Council, at its meeting of the 7th of this month, has charged the undersigned F. E. with corresponding with Spain for the time being and has passed your last letter on to him.

We have regularly received copies of the Spanish workers' papers: the Barcelona *Federacion*, the Madrid *Solidaridad* (up to December 1870), the Palma *El Obrero* (until its suspension), and recently (only the first No.) the Palma *Revolucion social*.[366] These papers have kept us in touch with events in Spain in regard to the workers' movement; we have seen much to our satisfaction that the ideas of the social revolution are becoming more and more the common property of the working class in your country.

Without doubt, the empty declamations of the old political parties, as you say, have attracted too much popular attention and have therefore formed a big obstacle to our propaganda. That was the case everywhere in the first years of the proletarian movement. In France, in England and in Germany, Socialists have been and still are obliged to combat the influence and actions of the old political parties, be they aristocratic or bourgeois, monarchist or even republican. Experience has everywhere proved that the best means of liberating the workers from this domination of the old parties is to found in each country a proletarian party with its own policy, a policy clearly distinguished from that of other parties, since it has to express the conditions of emancipation of the working class. The details of this policy may vary according to the particular circumstances in each country; but since the fundamental relations of labour and capital are everywhere the same, and the political domination of the propertied classes over the exploited classes exists everywhere, the principles and the aim of the proletarian policy will be identical, at least in the Western countries. The propertied classes, the landed aristocrats and the bourgeoisie, enslave the working people not only by the power of their riches, by the mere exploitation of labour by capital, but also by the force of the State, by the army, the bureaucracy and the courts. It would mean abandoning one of the most powerful means of action, and especially of organisation and propaganda, if we were to renounce fighting our adversaries on political ground. Universal suffrage gives us an excellent means of action. In Germany, the workers, strongly organised as a political party, have succeeded in sending six deputies to the so-called national representation; and the opposition that our friends Bebel and Liebknecht have been able to put up there against the war of conquest has recently acted more strongly in the interests of our international propaganda than years of propaganda by the press and meet-

ings have ever done. At this moment in France, too, workers' representatives have just been elected and will loudly proclaim our principles to the National Assembly. At the next elections, the same thing will find place in England.

We are glad to hear that you are willing to hand over to us contributions from the different branches in your country; we shall be honoured to receive them. Be so kind as to send them by cheque to any banker in London, to the account of John Weston, our treasurer, and by registered letter addressed to the undersigned either at 256, High Holborn, London (office of our Council) or at my house, 122, Regent's Park Road.

We also await with much interest the statistics of your Federation which you promised to send us.

As for the International's Congress, it would be useless to even think of it as long as the present war is on. But if, as would seem likely, peace is soon to be re-established, the Council will immediately tackle this important question and take into consideration your kind invitation to convene it at Barcelona.

We have not yet any sections in Portugal; it would perhaps be easier for you than us to open up relations with workers of that country. If that is so, please write to us again on the subject. We also think it would be better, at least for the beginning, for you to open up relations with the print workers of Buenos Aires so as to let us know later the obtained results. In the meantime you would be doing us a good service useful to the cause by sending us an issue of *Anales de la Sociedad tipografica de Buenos Aires*,[367] for us to get familiar with it.

For the rest, the international movement continues to progress despite all obstacles. In England, the Trades' Councils of Birmingham and Manchester have just affiliated directly to our Association, and, through them, the workers of the two most important manufacturing cities in this country. In Germany, we are at the moment under the same

persecution from the governments that Louis Bonaparte subjected us to in France a year ago. Our German friends, of whom more than fifty are in prison, are literally suffering for the international cause; they were arrested and persecuted because they opposed with all their force the policy of conquest and called upon the German people to fraternise with the French. In Austria, too, many of our friends have been imprisoned, but the movement is nonetheless making headway. In France, our sections were everywhere the life and soul of the resistance to the invasion, they have secured local power in the big towns of the South, and if Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Toulouse have shown an energy unknown elsewhere it was thanks to the efforts of members of the International. In Belgium, we have a strong organisation; our Belgian sections have just celebrated their Sixth Regional Congress. In Switzerland, the differences that have arisen among our sections some time ago seem to be smoothing themselves out. From America, we have received the adherence of new French, German and Czech (from Bohemia) sections, and for the rest, we remain in fraternal relations with the big organisation of American workers, the Labour Union.[368]

In the hope of receiving more news from you soon, we send you our fraternal greetings.

For the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

*F. E.*

Written by Engels — Translated from the French

## TO THE EDITOR OF *DER VOLKSSTAAT*[369]

*Paris-Journal*, one of the most successful organs of the Paris police press, published in its March 14 issue an article under the sensational heading "Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale" ("Grand Chef" is probably the French translation of Stieber's "Hauptchef"[370]).

"He is, as is known," the article begins, "a German and, what is even worse, a Prussian. His name is Karl Marx, he lives in *Berlin*, etc. Well now! This Karl Marx is dissatisfied with the behaviour of French members of the *International*. This alone is typical of him. He finds that they are always dabbling too much in politics and not enough in social questions. That is his conviction, and he has just formulated it very precisely in a letter to his brother and friend, Citizen *Serraillier*, one of the Paris high priests of the *International*. Karl Marx requests the French members of the International, particularly the Parisians, not to lose sight of the fact that their society has one single aim: organisation of labour and the future of the workers' societies. But they are disorganising labour instead of organising it, and he believes that the delinquents must again be called to respect the Association's Rules. We declare that we shall use the chance to publish this remarkable letter of Mr. Karl Marx as soon as it has been communicated to members of the *International*."

In its March 19 issue, *Paris-Journal* actually did print the letter allegedly signed by me, which was immediately reprinted by the whole reactionary Paris press, and then found its way into the London papers. Meanwhile, *Paris-Journal* had found out that I live in *London, not in Berlin*. So, this time it dated the letter from London, contrary to

its first announcement. This delayed correction suffers, however, from the fault that it makes me correspond with my friend *Serraillier*, who lives in London, by a roundabout route via Paris. The letter, as I have already explained in the *Times**, is a blatant *forgery* from start to finish.

The same *Paris-Journal* and other Paris organs of the "good press" spread the rumour that the Paris Federal Council of the *International* had taken a decision outside its competency about the expulsion of Germans from the International Working Men's Association. The London dailies hastily seized on this welcome piece of news and maliciously began to write in their leaders about the finally accomplished suicide of the *International*. Unfortunately, the *Times* today carries the following announcement from the *General Council of the International Working Men's Association***:

"A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Working Men's Association had so far joined the so-called *Anti-German League*, as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded from the International. This statement is the reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our Association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that Council have ever passed any such resolution. The so-called Anti-German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes; it was started by the Jockey Club, and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working class had nothing whatever to do with it.

"The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war, the *International* was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and the

* See p. 163 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** See p. 158 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Russian press accuse it of having created the late outrages upon Germans at Zurich, French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon*, *Courrier de la Gironde*, the Paris *Liberté*, etc., tell of certain secret meetings of *Internationals* having taken place at *Geneva* and *Berne*, the *Prussian Ambassador in the chair*, in which meetings a plan was concocted to hand over *Lyons* to the United Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder."

This was the General Council's explanation. It is in the nature of things that highly-placed people and the ruling classes of the old society, which can only hold onto their power and the exploitation of the producing mass of people by *national* battles and conflicts, recognise their common enemy in the *International Working Men's Association*. To destroy it, *all* means are fair.

London, March 23, 1871

*KARL MARX*,

*Secretary* to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association
*for Germany*

Translated from the German

## TO THE BELGIAN FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[447]

London, August 9, 1871

Comrades,

The General Council has just received a delegation of engineers from Newcastle.

These workers, as you know, have been on strike for several weeks in order to get a cut in working hours of one hour a day, that is, to bring their working day down to 9 hours.

This movement, as you see, is just the same as the one started by the Verviers engineers.

But the Newcastle workers, who thought themselves about to win and gain full satisfaction for all their claims, have just learned that their employers have gone to the Continent to recruit workers whom they are tricking by false promises, as they generally do.

It would appear that the employers have gone to recruit 3,000 workers, mostly Belgian, who will come over here shortly to supplant their English brothers.

The General Council cannot let this action take place. It must naturally do all it can to prevent workers from themselves aggravating their own condition by a disastrous competition among themselves.

It has therefore decided that two delegates shall be sent to Belgium to appeal to the best feelings of the Belgian workers and try to make them understand that it is their

duty to help the English workers and not to attempt to supplant them.[448]

The Belgian Federal Council will not want to lag behind.

We therefore hope, comrades, that you will do everything possible to stop such action on the part of the Belgians. We hope above all that they will understand what ingratitude will be on their part if they cause the defeat of the just claims of the English workers while the latter have quite recently given such a good example of solidarity in backing the strike of the cigar-makers of Antwerp.

On the subject of that strike. The Belgian workers, understandably offended by the arrival of Dutch workers, adjudged it their right to receive them as enemies with a result that unpleasant disputes arose among the workers, to the great joy of our eternal enemies.

Who can tell us that the Belgians will not be received in the same manner at Newcastle and, in that event, who is to blame?

Themselves and themselves only.

We vigorously call on the Belgian Federal Council to inform all Belgian sections of the arrival of the English delegates, to summon the engineers without further delay, to explain to them the situation of their brothers and to request them not to come to supplant them but rather to give them help and assistance.

We also hope that the Council will be good enough to convey these facts to all workers' newspapers so that they may simultaneously spread the news and thus prevent a flagrant injustice which would tarnish the reputation of Belgian workers throughout England.

P.S. Comrades J. G. Eccarius and James Cohen are the General Council delegates.

*ALFRED HERMAN*,

Corresponding Secretary for Belgium[449]

Written by Alfred Herman Translated from the French

## RESOLUTION ON THE RULES OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF 1871[451]

THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF OCTOBER 17, 1871

TO CITIZEN MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF 1871

Citizens,

Considering the following articles of the administrative resolutions voted on by the Basle Congress: Article 4. "Every new section or society which comes into existence and wishes to join the International must immediately notify the General Council of its adherence."

Article 5. "The General Council is entitled to accept or to refuse the affiliation of every new society or group, etc."[452]

The General Council confirms the Rules of the French Section of 1871 with the following modifications:

I. That in Article 2 the words "*justify his means of existence*" be erased and that it should simply be said: to be admitted as member of the section a person must present guarantees of morality, etc.

Article 9 of the General Rules states:

"Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. *Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.*"[453]

In dubious cases a section may well take information about means of existence as "guarantee of morality", while in other cases, like those of refugees, workers on strike, etc., absence of means of existence may well be a guarantee of morality. But to ask candidates to justify their means of existence as a general condition to be admitted to the International, would be a bourgeois innovation contrary to the spirit and letter of the General Rules.

II. (1) Considering that Article 4 of the General Rules states:

"The Congress elects the members of the General Council with power to add to their number"[454]; that consequently the General Rules only recognise two ways of election for General Council members: either their election by the Congress, or their co-option by the General Council; that the following passage of Article 11 of the Rules of the French Section of 1871: "One or several delegates shall be sent to the General Council" ... is therefore contrary to the General Rules which give no branch, section, group or federation the *right* to send delegates to the General Council.

That Article 12 of the Regulations prescribes: "Every section is at liberty to make Rules and Bye-Laws for its local administration, suitable to the peculiar circumstances of the different countries. *But these Bye-Laws must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations.*"[455]

For these reasons:

The General Council cannot admit the above-mentioned paragraph of the Rules of the "French Section of 1871".

(2) It is quite true that the different sections existing in London had been invited to send delegates to the General Council which, so as not to violate the General Rules, has always proceeded in the following manner:

It has first determined the number of delegates to be sent to the General Council by each section, reserving itself

the right to accept or refuse them depending on whether it considered them able to fulfil the general functions allotted them. These delegates became members of the General Council not by virtue of the fact that they were delegated by their sections but by virtue of the right of co-opting new members accorded to the Council by the General Rules.

Having acted up to the decision taken by the last Conference both as the General Council of the International Working Men's Association and as the Central Council for England, the Council in London thought it useful to admit, besides the members that it co-opted directly, members originally delegated by their respective sections.

It would have been a big mistake to identify the electoral procedure of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association with that of the Paris Federal Council which was not even a national Council nominated by a national Congress like, for example, the Brussels Federal Council or that of Madrid.

The Paris Federal Council being only a delegation of the Paris sections, the delegates of these sections could well be invested with an imperative mandate with a council where they had to defend the interests of their section. The General Council's electoral procedure is, on the contrary, defined by the General Rules and its members would not accept any other imperative mandate than that of the General Rules and General Regulations.

(3) The General Council is ready to admit two delegates from the "French Section of 1871" on the terms prescribed by the General Rules and never contested by the other sections existing in London.

III. In Article 11 of the Rules of the "French Section of 1871", this paragraph appears:

*"Every member of the section should not accept any delegation to the General Council other than that of his section."*

Interpreted literally, this paragraph could be accepted since it says only that a member of the "French Section of 1871" should not present himself to the General Council as delegate from another section.

But if we take into consideration the paragraph that precedes it, Article 11 means nothing else but completely changing the General Council's composition and making out of it, contrary to Article 3 of the General Rules, a delegation of London sections where the influence of local groups would be substituted for that of the whole *International Working Men's Association.*

The meaning of the paragraph in Article 11 from the Rules of the "French Section of 1871" is clearly confirmed by the obligation which it imposes for opting between the title of member of the Section and the function of member of the General Council.

For these reasons the General Council cannot admit the above-mentioned paragraph since it is contrary to the General Rules and deprives it of its right to recruit forces everywhere in the general interest of the International Working Men's Association.

IV. The General Council is sure that the "French Section of 1871" will understand the necessity for the proposed modifications and will not hesitate to bring its Rules into conformity with the letter and spirit of the General Rules and Regulations and that it will thereby forestall any discord which, in the present circumstances, could only hinder the progress of the International Working Men's Association.

Greetings and equality.

In the name and by order of the General Council, the Corresponding Secretary for France,

*AUGUSTE SERRAILLIER*

Drawn up by Marx — Translated from the French

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

[1] The strike took place from July to September 1870. Owing to the Franco-Prussian war no effective help could be organised. p. 29

[2] The letter, dated July 10, 1870, was from the Romance Federal Committee which expressed its thanks to the General Council for its resolution on the split in the Romance Federation, adopted on June 28, 1870 (see Note 267). It also informed the Council of the state of affairs in the Naples section, the information being based on Caporusso's letter to the Italian section in Geneva. p. 29

[3] Concerning the Geneva watchmakers' support for the building workers on strike see "Adresse des ouvriers de la fabrique de Genève aux ouvriers du bâtiment" published in *L'Egalité* No. 24, June 18, 1870.

*L'Egalité*—weekly organ of the Romance Federation of the International published in Geneva in French from December 1868 to December 1872. In the period between November 1869 and January 1870, Bakunin, Perron, Robin and other members of the editorial board tried to use the paper for attacks on the General Council. In January 1870, the Romance Federal Council succeeded in changing the composition of the editorial board by removing the Bakuninists from it; after that the paper began to support the General Council's line. p. 29

[4] The General Council's resolution on the split in the Romance Federation, adopted on the basis of Marx's draft, was published in the newspapers *La Solidarité* No. 16, July 23, 1870 and *Le Mirabeau* No. 53, July 24, 1870 (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, p. 368).

*Le Mirabeau* -Belgian weekly newspaper, organ of the Belgian sections of the International, published in Verviers from 1868 to 1874. p. 29

[5] This refers to an attempt to publish in Neuchâtel (Switzerland) the newspaper *Le Socialiste* as the organ of the Paris Federation after the government had banned the publication of *La Marseillaise*. p. 30

[6] The reference is to the third trial of the Paris sections' members held in Paris from June 22 to July 5, 1870. The report of the trial was published as a pamphlet in July 1870 under the title *Troisième Procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à Paris*. p. 30

[7] The address of the Paris members of the International appeared in the newspaper *Le Réveil* on July 12, 1870 (see pp. 324-25 of the present volume). The letter referred to by Marx was from Lafargue. p. 30

[8] The Amalgamated Engineers had lent £264 to the Paris iron-moulders on strike (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, p. 265). The money was handed over to their delegate, apparently by the end of July 1870. p. 30

[9] The reference is to the "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" approved by the Sub-Committee on July 23, 1870 (see pp. 323-29 of the present volume). p. 31

[10] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 460, August 6, 1870.

*The Bee-Hive*—British trade union weekly published in London from 1861 to 1876 under various names—*The Bee-Hive, The Bee-Hive Newspaper, The Penny Bee-Hive*. The newspaper was strongly influenced by bourgeois radicals and reformists. In November 1864 it was declared an organ of the International. *The Bee-Hive* published the official documents of the International Working Men's Association and the reports of the Council meetings but frequently in a distorted or abridged form. In 1869 it became, in effect, a bourgeois-radical organ. In April 1870 the General Council, on Marx's suggestion, severed its connections with the paper. However, in August 1870, at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, the General Council had to publish several reports of its meetings in *The Bee-Hive*, having no paper of its own. p. 31

[11] The newspaper report of this Council meeting stated that this information was based on a letter from Tréguer (erroneously spelled Treinie there). Speaking at the trial of the International's members in Brest, July 1870, the public prosecutor declared that he considered Mazzini and Pyat to be the founders of the International Association. Similar statements were also made by the

prosecutor at the third trial of members of the International in Paris. p. 32

[12] The strike in Mulhouse (France) took place in July 1870; it was started by weavers and later joined by carpenters, house-painters, mechanics, coach-makers, masons and others; the strike thus became general. The workers demanded shorter working hours, higher wages and freedom of assembly. Despite the authorities' attempts to put down the strike by armed force, the strikers succeeded in getting the working day reduced to 11 hours, without a reduction in wages. p. 32

[13] The text of the joint declaration by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht was read at a Reichstag session on July 21, 1870 and printed in *Der Volksstaat* No. 59, July 23, 1870. It was translated by Karl Marx into English and published in the newspaper report of this Council meeting.

*Der Volksstaat*—Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party—was published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876 (first twice a week and from July 1873, three times a week). The newspaper expressed the views of the revolutionary wing in the German working-class movement and was constantly persecuted by the government and the police for its bold revolutionary tenor. Liebknecht gave general guidance to the paper and Bebel was in charge of the *Volksstaat* publishing house. The newspaper regularly published articles by Marx and Engels who attached great importance to its activities. They watched its work, criticised its errors and helped to rectify the paper's line, thanks to which *Der Volksstaat* was one of the best workers' papers in the 1870s. p. 32

[14] *The Times* did not publish the address.

*The Times*—the leading conservative daily, published in London since 1785. p. 33

[15] Marx sent the text of the General Council's first address on the Franco-Prussian war to *The Pall Mall Gazette* which published it on July 28, 1870.

*The Pall Mall Gazette*—London daily, published from 1865 to 1920; it was conservative in character. p. 33

[16] On July 25, 1870, *The Times* printed the draft of a treaty between France and Prussia envisaging, in particular, the possibility of Belgium being annexed to France in exchange for the recognition of a union between the North-German Confederation and the southern German states. Marx was mistaken when he considered

this document to be forged. As a matter of fact, the draft treaty was drawn up by Benedetti, the French Ambassador in Berlin, on the basis of Bismarck's proposals made in 1866. p. 35

[17] The change of the General Council's seat from London to Brussels was discussed at the Council meetings on June 28 and July 5, 1870 (see *The General Council. 1868-1870,* pp. 256-57, and 261). p. 38

[18] This refers to the General Council's resolution of June 28, 1870 on the split in Romance Switzerland. p. 38

[19] *The Peace Society* (*The Society for Promoting of Permanent and Universal Peace*)—bourgeois pacifist organisation founded in London in 1816 by the Quakers, a religious sect, actively supported by the Free Traders. p. 38

[20] This refers to an article by James Guillaume printed unsigned in *La Solidarité* No. 16, July 23, 1870.

*La Solidarité*—organ of the Bakuninist Jura sections—was published (at first in Neuchâtel, then in Geneva) from April 11, 1870 to May 12, 1871; publication was suspended after September 3, 1870 and resumed on March 28, 1871. p. 39

[21] On July 30, 1870, *La Solidarité* (No. 17) carried an article entitled "Allemagne" ("Germany"). In connection with the declaration by Bebel and Liebknecht in the North-German Reichstag against the war loans (see Note 13), the newspaper wrote that "their conduct furnishes new proof that our tactics of abstaining from participation in any present-day government and national policy are correct in principle".

The tactics of Bebel and Liebknecht on this question were actually quite correct at the moment and were fully supported by Marx. p. 39

[22] The reference is to the London Conference of the International held on September 25-29, 1865. p. 40

[23] The reference is to a letter from the Naples section to the General Council written on July 22, 1870. In its next letter, August 1, 1870, the section informed the Council of its general meeting held on July 24, 1870, which adopted a decision to expel Caporusso from the section.

Caporusso's article mentioned in the Minutes was published in the newspaper *Soluzione,* July 26, 1870. p. 43

[24] This apparently refers to the Curriers' Society (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, p. 248). p. 45

[25] *The Workmen's Peace Committee* was founded in July 1870 by British trade unionists, members of the Reform League, who were supported by bourgeois radicals; it upheld bourgeois-pacifist views and was connected with the Peace Society (see Note 19) which gave it financial support; in 1871 the Committee was reorganised into the *Workmen's Peace Association*. p. 47

[26] The letter from the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections, August 7, 1870, fully approving of the General Council's proposal to postpone the next Congress of the International, and a copy of an analogous decision by the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party were forwarded by Marx, who at the time was on holiday in Ramsgate, to Hermann Jung in his letter of August 12, 1870 for the consideration of the General Council. p. 48

[27] *The National Sunday League* - philanthropic educational organisation that advocated the opening of museums, concert halls and similar institutions on Sundays for workers who could not visit them on week-days.

As co-tenant, the General Council used the League's office at 256, High Holborn, London, from June 1868 to February 1872. p. 48

[28] The reference is to the Fifth Congress of the National Labour Union held in Cincinnati in August 1870.

*The National Labour Union* was founded in the U.S.A. in August 1866 and soon established contacts with the International Association. At the Cincinnati Congress the following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, that the National Labour Union, assembled in congress, declares its adhesion to the principles of the International Working Men's Association, and expects at no distant day to affiliate with it." This decision, however, did not materialise because petty-bourgeois elements took over the Union leadership. p. 49

[29] In its letter of August 14, 1870 the Romance Committee informed the Council that the Vevey section, which supported the Bakuninists at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress (April 4-6, 1870), had decided to return to the Romance Federation. The letter further stated that at a meeting of the Central Geneva Section, held on August 13, 1870, Bakunin and Perron had been expelled from the section "as persons who prepared and effected the split in the Romance Federation". p. 50

[30] The resolution postponing the Fifth Annual Congress of the Association was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 463, August 27, 1870,

in the combined report of the Council's two meetings—of August 16 and 23, 1870. p. 50

[31] *The French section of the International in New York,* known as Section No. 2, was founded early in June 1870 by the merger of two local branches of the *Republican Union of the French Language (Union républicaine de langue française)*—an organisation of French immigrants in the U.S.A. Founded in November 1868, the Union included petty-bourgeois democrats, advocates of utopian socialism. Some branches of the Union maintained contacts with the General Council even prior to 1870.

The Union's press organ was *Bulletin de l'Union républicaine de langue française.* The anti-war address of the section was published in the *Bulletin* on August 15, 1870. p. 51

[32] The reference is to *Compte rendu du IV^e^ Congrès International tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869*, Bruxelles, 1869. p. 51

[33] *The New Democracy of New York or Political Commonwealth*—an American bourgeois-democratic organisation which was founded in 1869 and existed nearly a year. It declared as its aim the combination of political activities and peaceful revolution by means of labour reform and social organisation (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, pp. 176 and 352-53). p. 55

[34] This refers to Sorge's letters to Marx of July 21 and August 4, 1870; in the latter Sorge enclosed copies of the International's membership cards issued by Hume with the motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity". p. 55

[35] Marx wrote a letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in reply to the Brunswick Committee's request for advice on the attitude the German proletariat should adopt towards the Franco-Prussian war. Marx also found it necessary to express his opinion on the behaviour of the *Volksstaat* editors (Liebknecht and others) who, though adopting on the whole an internationalist stand, at the beginning of the war showed a one-sided attitude towards it and a certain disregard of the task of the national unification of the country. Marx discussed his reply to the Committee with Engels during their meeting in Manchester which took place between August 22 and 30, 1870. The letter was sent to Germany over Marx's signature. Only that part of the letter has been preserved (see pp. 330-32 of the present volume) which was included by the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party into the manifesto on the war which it issued as a leaflet on September 5, 1870. It was said there that the message included

in the manifesto was written by "one of our oldest and most honoured comrades in London". The manifesto declared the German workers' loyalty to the international cause of the proletariat and suggested that the German workers should organise mass meetings of protest against the annexationist plans of the Prussian Government. p. 56

[36] On September 5, 1870, the Paris Federal Council sent a letter to Marx and Eccarius, signed by H. Bachruch, requesting that an address be issued to the German people as soon as possible. Enclosed in this letter was the address "Au peuple allemand, à la démocratie socialiste de la nation allemande" written in the name of the French workers' societies and the sections of the International Association. This address was published as a leaflet on September 4-5, 1870. p. 56

[37] This meeting, held on September 13, 1870, was called by the Labour Representation League (see Note 42) and trade union leaders in connection with the proclamation of the French Republic. The resolution, moved at the meeting by George Howell, limited itself to the expression of sympathy for the French people and to congratulations on the peaceful establishment of the Republic; it also proposed to request the British Government to officially recognise the French Republic and exercise friendly influence upon Germany and France with a view to terminating the war.

Applegarth, a General Council member, moved as an amendment that the British Government exert all its influence to put an end to the war between France and Germany and to protest against any dismemberment of France that would inevitably result in the aggravation of the political situation in Europe. The amendment also demanded the conclusion of a treaty ensuring a lasting peace in Europe. The General Council members were called to the meeting by telegraph because bourgeois pacifists managed to build up an insignificant majority, which meant there was a danger of the meeting adopting Howell's resolution. After a prolonged and heated discussion the meeting adopted Applegarth's amendment by a majority vote (7). p. 60

[38] The men arrested on September 9, 1870 for publishing the manifesto on war—"Manifest des Ausschusses der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter!"—were: Bracke, Bonhorst, Spier, Kühn, Gralle (all Committee members of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party), Ehlers, a member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, and Sievers, a printer. The manifesto appeared as a leaflet on September 5, 1870 and was published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 73, September 11, 1870. p. 62

[39] The pamphlet containing the two addresses of the General Council came out under the title *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War*, London, 1870. p. 63

[40] Marx refers to an article published in *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 264, September 23, 1870. Among other things, the article expressed the German industrialists' fear of possible competition on the part of the cotton industry of Alsace. p. 64

[41] The deputation of English workers and representatives of democratic organisations, composed by the Labour Representation League, was received by Prime Minister Gladstone on September 27, 1870. The delegates included some trade union leaders (Applegarth, Coulson, Dodson and others) and prominent bourgeois-democratic leaders (Beesly, Congreve). They asked for the recognition of the French Republic by Britain and the promotion of peace. Gladstone gave indefinite promises to facilitate the termination of the war. p. 65

[42] *The Labour Representation League* was founded in 1869. It included trade union leaders who sought to secure labour representation in the House of Commons by agreement with the Liberal Party. p. 65

[43] This refers to the *Declaration on the Principles of the International Maritime Law*, a codicil to the 1856 Treaty of Paris (which concluded the Crimean War of 1853-56). It was signed by representatives of France, Britain, Russia, Sardinia, Turkey, Austria and Prussia on April 16, 1856. The declaration set up rules of warfare at sea based on armed neutrality principles which were declared by the government of Catherine II in 1780 and envisaged abolition of privateering, immunity of neutral goods in enemy vessels and of enemy goods in neutral vessels (with the exception of war contraband), and the recognition of a blockade only if actually effective. Clarendon, Britain's representative at the Paris Congress, signed the declaration in the name of his country. p. 65

[44] On September 27, 1870, Gladstone told the deputation of English workers that the British Government would recognise the French Government only after the latter was recognised by the French people themselves, i.e., after the elections to the National Assembly, and referred to the fact that the British Government, headed by Lord Derby, recognised the Second Empire in France on December 4, 1852, i.e., following the plebiscite. Britain's Foreign Secretary at the time was Lord Malmesbury. What Marx meant was the actual recognition of the Louis Bonaparte regime by Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary. In a talk with the French Ambassador in London on the day following the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 he approved of Bonaparte's act of usurpation. p. 66

[45] The reference is to Bruce's speech in Glasgow on September 26, 1870, which reflected the British Government's pro-Prussian sentiments. p. 67

[46] The Lyons uprising began on September 4, 1870, when news of the defeat at Sedan was received. On his arrival in Lyons on September 15, Bakunin tried to head the movement and realise his anarchist programme. On September 28, the anarchists attempted a coup d'état which was a complete failure. p. 68

[47] This refers to the General Council's discussion, on October 8, 1867, of Eccarius's reports on the Lausanne Congress published in *The Times* between September 6 and 11, 1867. Peter Fox subjected them to sharp criticism. Though well aware of certain shortcomings in the reports, Marx nevertheless defended Eccarius to prevent the proletarian core of the General Council from being discredited in the person of Eccarius (see *The General Council. 1866-1868,* p. 166). p. 72

[48] These reports were published unsigned in *The Commonwealth,* September 8 and 15, 1866. p. 74

[49] News of the trial of Dreher and Stellmann, members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, was published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 84, October 19, 1870. p. 79

[50] Part of the General Council's second address on the Franco-Prussian war was published in *L'Internationale* No. 93, October 23, 1870.

*L'Internationale*—weekly organ of the Belgian sections of the International; published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873, De Paepe taking an active part in it. p. 79

[51] On October 14, 1870, Schweitzer's newspaper *Der Social-demokrat* printed an article that repeated false allegations about numerous police agents working in the Paris sections of the International; in particular, the article mentioned the name of Auguste Briosne, member of the Paris Federal Committee. p. 79

[52] The reference is to the meetings of October 11 and 18, 1870 organised by *Freundschaft* (Friendship)—a German nationalistic society in London. At these meetings the organisation put forward, allegedly in the name of the German workers, the demand to annex Alsace and Lorraine.

In reply, the German Workers' Educational Association (Deutscher-Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein) in London and the Teutonia society issued a joint address to the German workers in London exposing the groundless arguments of those who advocated the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. It was published in *Der Vorbote* Nos. 11 and

12, 1870 and as a leaflet in Geneva: "Erklärung des Londoner Arbeiter-Bildungs-Vereins und der Teutonia", Genf, 1870.

*Der Vorbote*—monthly organ of the German-speaking sections of the International in Switzerland; was published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871; Johann Philipp Becker was its editor-in-chief. *Der Vorbote* generally pursued the policy of Marx and the General Council and regularly printed the documents of the International and information on the activities of the International's sections in the different countries. p. 80

[53] Marx gives the contents of Bolte's letter of October 12, 1870. The joint meeting of the German and French sections of New York was held on October 16, 1870. The address to the workers of Europe, adopted by these sections, was forwarded to Marx by Sorge in his letter of October 19, 1870; it was the first joint document of the New York sections of the International. The address was published in the newspapers *The Workingman's Advocate* (Chicago), October 22, 1870, *Die Neue Zeit* (New York), October 29, 1870, and in *Der Vorbote* (Geneva) No. 11, November 1870; it also came out in leaflet form: in French—"Les citoyens allemands et français des sections internationales des travailleurs de la ville de New York à leurs frères d'Europe"—and in English—"Manifesto of the French and German Sections of the International Working Men's Ass'n at New York, to their Brethren in Europe". p. 81

[54] The reference is to Lafargue's letter to Marx dated October 28, 1870. p. 83

[55] At that time Marx opposed the formation of a Central Committee for the United States because the International in the U.S.A. did not yet spread its influence among American-born workers; he feared that the premature organisation of this committee would limit the International's activities to immigrant workers. p. 85

[56] The communication about the speech by Mestdagh de Ter Kiele, General Procurator at the Brussels Court of Appeal, and by his Liège colleague was published in *L'Internationale* No. 94, October 30, 1870. The Belgian Federal Committee attached great importance to the refutation of slanderous attacks on the International Association; therefore it printed in full Mestdagh's speech and later, December 1870-January 1871, published in *L'Internationale* a series of well-founded articles disclosing his baseless allegations. p. 85

[57] *Potteries Examiner*—democratic newspaper published in Hanley (Staffordshire), a centre of the pottery industry, in the 1860s and 1870s; its editor at the time was W. Owen. p. 86

[58] *The Anglo-French Intervention Committee* was founded in October 1870 by the petty-bourgeois leaders from the International Democratic Association (see Note 185) and trade union members from the Land and Labour League, with the leaders of the British Positivists also playing a big role. The Committee included Congreve, Beesly, Le Lubez, Weston, Oliver, Boon, etc.

Its programme demanded, among other things, the immediate recognition of the French Republic, condemnation of Prussia's aggressive policy and conclusion of a defensive military treaty with France.

Taking advantage of the discontent of part of workers with the British Government's pro-Prussian policy and, in particular, with Gladstone's reply to the workers' deputation on September 27, 1870 (see Notes 41 and 44), the Committee leaders tried to head the movement in support of the French Republic and organised several meetings in London in October-November 1870. p. 86

[59] Marx refers to Sorge's letter dated October 30, 1870. The mass anti-war meeting Sorge was writing about, was organised by the International's sections, trade unions, the Free Thinkers' Society and other organisations, and was held in New York on November 19, 1870. Attended by nearly 2,000 people, the meeting adopted an address condemning the continuation of the war against the French Republic and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and calling on the U.S. Government to exert its influence to organise assistance to the French Republic. p. 87

[60] Engels refers to the announcement (in *Volkswille*, November 12, 1870) about the permission to resume the activities of the Vienna Workers' Educational Association banned by the government in July 1870. The authorities demanded, however, that the society's rules state that its lectures should not touch upon political issues.

*Volkswille*—Austrian workers' paper; published in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874. p. 87

[61] What is meant here is the circular of October 31, 1870 by Gorchakov, Russian Foreign Minister, announcing Russia's denunciation of those articles in the 1856 Treaty of Paris which prohibited the country having a Black Sea Fleet. (The Treaty was signed on March 30, 1856 by the participants in the Crimean War: France, Britain, Sardinia, Turkey, Austria and Prussia, on the one hand, and by Russia on the other.) p. 87

[62] The reference is to Dupont's letter to Marx dated November 21, 1870. p. 90

[63] Marx gives the contents of the correspondence published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 94, November 23, 1870, which quoted an article from the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* accusing the German Social-Democrats to whom Marx refers in his communication. p. 90

[64] The workers' meeting and demonstration held in Verviers on November 20, 1870 were organised by local sections of the International. p. 91

[65] This refers to the Vosges army made up of National Guard units, French and foreign (mainly Italian) volunteers; in October 1870-February 1871 it was under the command of Giuseppe Garibaldi; it scored several victories in its fight against the Germans. p. 91

[66] The Czech Workers' Society in New York became the International's Section No. 3. p. 92

[67] In May 1871, the New York Labour League and some former members of the New Democracy (see Note 33), which by that time had already ceased to exist, constituted themselves as Section No. 9. p. 95

[68] This refers to Bolte's letter to Marx dated December 6, 1870 (see Note 82). p. 95

[69] The Sixth Half-yearly Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International met in Brussels on December 25-26, 1870; it heard the financial report, the report on the work of the Federation's newspaper, *L'Internationale,* and the report on the position of the International Association in Belgium. For the General Council's letter to the Congress, drawn up by Engels, see pp. 343-45 of the present volume. p. 96

[70] The memorial was published in *The Times,* December 30, 1870; it was signed by the Positivists Beesly, Harrison, Congreve and others, as well as by some General Council members—Eccarius, Odger and Applegarth. The last point in the memorial called upon the British Government to declare war on Prussia.

For the meeting in St. James's Hall see Note 75. p. 102

[71] This refers to a group of bourgeois radical Positivists, followers of the French idealist philosopher Auguste Comte; they belonged to the Left wing of the democratic movement. Edward Beesly, Frederick Harrison and Richard Congreve stood at the head of the Positivists. During the campaign for the recognition of the French Republic the Positivists were very active and tried to take the leadership in the working-class movement. At certain periods Marx and his followers in the General Council acted jointly with the

Positivists but on the whole they fought tirelessly against their attempts to turn the British working-class movement into the channel of bourgeois radicalism. p. 102

[72] This letter was from the Spanish Federal Council dated December 14, 1870 and signed by Francisco Mora. p. 103

[73] *L'Internationale* No. 103, January 1, 1871, published César De Paepe's statement, made at the Sixth Congress of the Belgian Sections, that Engels had been appointed Corresponding Secretary for Belgium. p. 104

[74] *Felleisen*—Swiss newspaper, organ of the German workers' educational associations in Switzerland; was published in Zurich and Geneva from 1862 to 1874.

The German workers' educational associations in Switzerland joined the International in August 1868 at their congress in Neuchâtel. The growing nationalist tendencies in these associations after Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian war led to their actual withdrawal from the International. On January 18, 1871, Marx wrote to Jung that the Council had instructed him to warn the *Felleisen* editors that "if they persist in the non-fulfilment of their duties ... and in their opposition to the policy of the General Council ... which is in consonance with the Statutes of the *International,* the General Council, using the right, deferred to it by the Basle Congress, will provisionally—that is to say until the meeting of the next General Congress—exclude them from the *International*". p. 106

[75] On January 6 and 10, 1871, the British Positivists organised meetings in St. James's Hall in favour of the recognition of the French Republic by Britain. At these meetings Odger moved a resolution extolling the Government of National Defence. At the Mile End meeting on January 6, 1871, Odger supported a similar resolution moved in view of the forthcoming visit of Jules Favre to London. p. 106

[76] The Paris demonstration was organised by revolutionary clubs on May 15, 1848; nearly 150,000 people, mainly workers, took part. Headed by Auguste Blanqui, they marched to the Constituent Assembly, which was to discuss the Polish question that day, and demanded military assistance for Poland in her struggle for independence as well as decisive measures to combat unemployment and poverty. Since their demands were not met, the demonstrators declared the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the formation of a revolutionary government. The demonstration was dispersed by troops and bourgeois detachments of the National Guard. p. 106

[77] The reference is to the *Executive Committee*—the French Republican Government set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848, in place of the Provisional Government that had resigned; it existed until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established. p. 107

[78] These were the reactionary press laws passed by the Constituent Assembly on August 9 and 11, 1848. Periodicals had to make big financial deposits, which meant that progressive and workers' newspapers and periodicals had to close down; they also envisaged heavy punishment (imprisonment and fines) for articles against the government, the existing order and private property. These laws were based on similar laws enacted during the Restoration and the July monarchy. p. 107

[79] In April 1849, the French bourgeois government, in alliance with Austria and Naples, launched an armed intervention against the Roman Republic with a view to suppressing it and restoring the Pope's temporal power. Rome was ruthlessly bombarded by the French; the Roman Republic was overthrown despite heroic resistance and Rome occupied by the French troops. p. 107

[80] Marx's speech on the Government of National Defence was given in the report of this Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post* No. 121, January 21, 1871, but his name was not mentioned. p. 107

[81] The report of this Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post* No. 122, January 28, 1871, also contains a summary of Johann Jacoby's letter printed in *L'Internationale* No. 106, January 22, 1871. p. 108

[82] The Central Committee of the North-American sections was formed on December 1, 1870 by delegates from several sections (German Section No. 1, French Section No. 2 and Czech Section No. 3). Section No. 1—the oldest section of the International in the United States—played an important part in founding it. Marx deemed it expedient for the leading body of such a federation to be elected at a congress of sections, so as to prevent people hostile to the working-class movement from penetrating into the Central Committee as delegates from individual sections. p. 108

[83] Marx had in mind a letter from Siegfried Meyer dated January 10, 1871, in which he wrote about the formation of the Central Committee of the North-American sections and expressed his disapproval of Sorge's activities in founding this Committee and of the principles which guided him in his work. In his reply to Meyer, January 21, 1871, Marx criticised the formation of the Central Committee

and emphasised the need to overcome internal conflicts and carry on joint work. p. 108

[84] The reference is to a letter from Natalie Liebknecht, written to Marx on January 18, 1871. p. 108

[85] The mass meeting was held in Trafalgar Square on January 23, 1871. The meeting put forward a demand, in the name of the country's workers, that the British Government bring pressure to bear upon Prussia in order to make the latter end the war and conclude peace on terms honourable for France. p. 109

[86] *The Eastern Post*—British workers' weekly; appeared in London from 1868 to 1873. In January 1871 the newspaper began publishing reports of the General Council meetings and, in fact, became the Council's press organ (until June 1872).

For the *Potteries Examiner* see Note 57. p. 110

[87] This phrase is from John Harney's letter to Eccarius of December 30, 1870; Eccarius included part of this letter, in which Harney criticised the British Government's pro-Prussian policy, in the newspaper report of the Council meeting held on January 17, 1871 (see Note 80) as an extract from the letter of "an old Chartist" (see Eccarius's letter to Marx dated January 20, 1871). p. 110

[88] The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 123, February 5, 1871. p. 110

[89] The letter was dated January 14, 1871. The section wrote, in particular, about the need for resuming publication of a workers' paper in German in place of *Die Arbeiter-Union* that had ceased to exist in September 1870. p. 111

[90] The letter was written on January 22, 1871. *L'Egalité,* the organ of the Romance Federation, did not appear from the autumn of 1870 until January 1871. The Congress of the Federation referred to in the letter was held in May 1871.

The section in Annecy (French territory) was organisationally linked with the Romance Federation. p. 111

[91] *La Revolucion social* began publication in Palma in January 1871 instead of *L'Obrero* which had been banned by the government. Only three issues appeared; the newspaper was suppressed, the editor having been brought to trial for "lèse-majesté". p. 111

[92] This refers to the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* founded by Mikhail Bakunin in October 1868 as an international organisation. Its programme was criticised in the General Council's resolutions of December 22, 1868 and March 9, 1869 (see *The General Council.*

*1868-1870,* pp. 299-301, and 310-11). The Alliance's programme, in particular, rejected "any political action which does not have as its immediate and direct aim the triumph of the workers' cause against Capital" (*Ibid.*, pp. 380-81). It is apparently this idea, widely spread among certain International members in Spain, that Marx has in mind. p. 112

[93] See Note 43.

In putting forward the demand that Britain should renunciate the Declaration of Paris, Engels took into account the international situation in 1871 when, according to Marx and Engels, this act would serve as a means of preventing tsarist Russia from entering the European war as Prussia's ally and could be utilised in the struggle against the growing influence of the counter-revolutionary governments in Russia and Prussia. p. 113

[94] The reference is to the outrages committed in the autumn of 1866 in Sheffield by trade unionists against the strike-breakers. The affair was investigated by a special government commission which continued its work during several months of 1867; the results of its investigation were widely used by the bourgeois papers to discredit the trade unions and the working-class movement in general.

Speaking at a meeting in London on July 4, 1867, Beesly exposed the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie who condemned the unionists' outrages but applauded to General Eyre who had drowned the Jamaica revolt of 1865 in blood. Beesly was ruthlessly persecuted by the bourgeois press for this speech. The London trade unions expressed in public their thanks to Beesly. In July 1867 Marx wrote a letter of sympathy to Beesly in view of the campaign started against him. p. 113

[95] See Note 70. p. 113

[96] Analysing the military position of the French Republic, Engels compares the situation in October-November 1870—when the defence of Paris engaged strong Prussian forces, and the Loire army under the command of General Aurelle de Paladines carried out a successful operation against the Prussian army—with that in January 1871 after the battle at Le Mans in Western France on January 10-12 where the German troops, commanded by Prince Friedrich Karl, defeated the newly formed Loire army under the command of General Chanzy; the latter retreated with serious losses. p. 114

[97] The war was waged by Britain against Napoleon's army in Spain in 1808-13. p. 114

[98] The General Council's second address on the Franco-Prussian war refers to the following fact. In October 1865, during his meeting with Napoleon III at Biarritz, Bismarck managed to get from the Emperor France's actual consent to the union of Prussia with Italy and to the war of Prussia against Austria; by *giving this* consent, Napoleon III counted on interfering in the conflict, with advantage, in the event of Prussia's defeat.

At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, Gorchakov—Foreign Minister of the tsarist government—declared, during the Berlin negotiations with Bismarck, that Russia would be neutral in the war and would bring diplomatic pressure to bear upon Austria; in its turn, the Prussian Government pledged not to put obstacles to tsarist Russia's policy in the East. p. 115

[99] *The London Treaty on Luxembourg Neutrality* was concluded on May 11, 1867 between Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Prussia and Russia. It ended the so-called Luxembourg crisis caused by Napoleon III's attempt to make Prussia consent to the annexation of Luxembourg by France as a compensation for her neutrality in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. Under this treaty, Luxembourg was declared a permanently neutral state, which was guaranteed by the countries that signed the treaty.

On December 9, 1870 Bismarck, on seeing that Luxembourg's attitude to France was too friendly, declared his intention not to recognise henceforth Luxembourg's neutrality but on December 19 was forced to give up his threat under pressure from Britain. p. 115

[100] See Note 43. p. 116

[101] See Note 20. p. 118

[102] The newspaper report of this Council meeting (*The Eastern Post* No. 124, February 11, 1871) contained, with references to the Geneva paper *L'Egalité*, letters of the French Premier Emile Ollivier, pertaining to early May 1870, about the arrest of the International's members in view of the forthcoming plebiscite. Such letters were sent out to the general procurators of Toulouse, Rouen and Aix. Besides, the newspaper report stated that some English papers, *Echo* in particular, reprinted, without any reference to the source, reports of the General Council meetings borrowed from *The Eastern Post*. p. 119

[103] Eccarius here summarises communications published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 11, February 4, 1871. p. 119

[104] The meeting was held in an hotel in Cannon Street, January 5, 1871;

it was called by the Committee of Sympathisers with France after the unsuccessful attempt to get permission from the Lord Mayor of London to assemble in the Guildhall. This committee, whose chairman was lawyer Merriman, had the support of the petty bourgeoisie of the City. The meeting adopted a resolution calling upon the British Government to facilitate the conclusion of peace between France and Prussia and to recognise the French Republic *de facto;* it also condemned Prussia's policy after Sedan and expressed sympathy with the French people. Weston attended this meeting. p. 119

[105] The meeting took place on September 10, 1870; it adopted an address of the English workers to the French people and a resolution demanding the recognition of the French Republic by Britain. p. 120

[106] The reference is to a letter of February 14, 1871, from J. Smith, Secretary of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers. p. 126

[107] This refers to the Austrian amnesty of those condemned for high treason declared on February 8, 1871. Scheu, Oberwinder, Most and other Social-Democrats arrested in July 1870 were amnestied too.

The report of Serraillier's speech, mentioned below, appeared in *The Pall Mall Gazette* on February 11, 1871. p. 127

[108] The entry is not exact. In his letter to Marx, January 25, 1871, Dupont wrote that a Roubaix clerk addressed him requesting to be admitted to the International; the man got Dupont's address in Manchester from the International's correspondent in Roubaix. p. 127

[109] This is an inaccurate summary of a note published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 10, February 1, 1871, about the deportation from Stuttgart of Josef Schneider, a Frankfort worker, nominated for the Reichstag from the Stuttgart area. p. 127

[110] The inaccurate record of Marx's speech given in the report of this meeting in *The Eastern Post* No. 125, February 19, 1871, was sharply criticised by Marx at the next meeting of the General Council (see p. 134 of the present volume). p. 128

[111] See Note 104 on this meeting. p. 129

[112] Marx refers to the mass demonstrations held in London in June and July 1855 against the British Parliament's decision to limit the working hours of taverns on Sundays and in general to prohibit retail trade on Sundays; Marx took part in one of these demonstrations. p. 130

[113] Marx apparently refers to the speeches: by Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on September 16 in Elgin; by Bruce, Home Sec-

retary, on September 26 in Glasgow; and by Cardwell, M.P., on October 14, 1870, in Oxford. Underlying all these speeches was the idea that it was necessary for Britain to observe strict neutrality. p. 132

[114] What is meant here is the exchange of notes between Bernstorff, Prussian Ambassador in London, and Lord Granville, British Foreign Secretary, that took place in August-October 1870 in connection with British supplies of arms and other war equipment to France. p. 132

[115] The reference is to the British ship *International* delayed by the customs officials in the mouth of the Thames on December 21, 1870; it carried submarine cable for the line between Dunkerque and Bordeaux. On January 17, 1871, a British court found the actions of the customs officials illegal. p. 132

[116] Marx refers to the question asked by Auberon Herbert in the House of Commons on February 10, 1871 about the way the British Government had acted in respect of the coming of a French representative to the conference called to review the Treaty of Paris (see Note 147). p. 132

[117] The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 126, February 26, 1871. p. 133

[118] *The Land Tenure Reform Association* was founded in July 1869 under the aegis of John Stuart Mill. Its aim was to revive the class of small farmers by leasing waste plots of land to the unemployed. p. 137

[119] *The Land and Labour League* was founded in London in October 1869. General Council members participated in its foundation and more than ten of them were on the League's Executive Committee. The League's programme was drawn up by Eccarius who acted on Marx's advice, and contained general democratic demands (reforms of the financial and tax systems, of public education, etc.), demands for the nationalisation of the land and reduction of working hours, and also Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonialisation. Marx held that the League could play a definite role in revolutionising the working class and regarded it as a means of establishing an independent proletarian party in England. With the growing influence of bourgeois elements in the Land and Labour League it soon began to lose contact with the International Association. p. 137

[120] The Workmen's Peace Association (see Note 25) planned to hold its meeting on February 22, 1871 in the Freemasons' Hall.

Marx was against General Council members attending the meeting because of the bourgeois-pacifist nature of this Association. p. 137

[121] Marx refers to the charge of high treason on which Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner were arrested on December 17, 1870. In connection with this, Marx wrote to the editor of *The Daily News* on January 16, 1871: "At Bismarck's express command Messrs. Bebel and Liebknecht have been arrested, on the plea of high treason, simply because they dared to fulfil their duties as German national representatives, viz., to protest in the Reichstag against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, vote against new war subsidies, express their sympathy with the French Republic, and denounce the attempt at the conversion of Germany into one Prussian barrack." In her letter of February 22, 1871, Natalie Liebknecht informed Marx of the new qualification of the charge. p. 139

[122] Serraillier left for Paris on September 7, 1870 (see p. 61 of the present volume). In his letter to Beesly, dated September 12, 1870, Marx wrote that "last Wednesday A. Serraillier, a member of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, went to Paris as the plenipotentiary of the Council. He thought it his duty to remain there, not only for taking part in the defence, but to bring his influence to bear upon our Paris Federal Council". p. 139

[123] *Le Réveil*—French weekly and, from May 1869, daily newspaper, organ of the Left Republicans; appeared, under the editorship of Charles Delescluze, in Paris from July 1868 to January 1871. It published documents of the International and various matter pertaining to the working-class movement.

*Le Rappel*—French daily of a Left-republican trend; founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort, it was published from 1869 to 1928. The newspaper sharply criticised the Second Empire. p. 140

[124] The demonstration was organised to demand elections to the Commune. p. 140

[125] On October 31, 1870, upon the receipt of news of the capitulation at Metz, the defeat at Le-Bourget and the negotiations with the Prussians, started by Thiers on the instructions of the Government of National Defence, the Paris workers and the revolutionary part of the National Guard rose in revolt. They seized the Town Hall and set up their revolutionary government—the Committee of Public Safety headed by Blanqui. The Government of National Defence was pressed by the workers and had to promise to resign and schedule for November 1 elections to the Commune. The Paris

revolutionary forces, however, were not well organised and there were disagreements among the leaders of the uprising—the followers of Blanqui and the petty-bourgeois Jacobin democrats. The Government of National Defence took advantage of the situation. With the aid of some battalions of the National Guard loyal to it the government seized the Town Hall and re-established its power. p. 140

[126] The need for a new Federal Council was dictated both by the organisational confusion among the Paris sections and by the composition of the old Council which included some Right-wing Proudhonists who used the International as a cover to pursue their own policy of conciliation. Serraillier set up a new Federal Council from among the revolutionary members of the Paris sections. Kin, Aubert, Lucipia, Beslay and others were on the new Council which held its meetings at 3, Rue d'Arras. In January 1871, the two Federal Councils merged; the Right-wing Proudhonists did not enter the united Council. p. 140

[127] On January 22, 1871, the proletariat and National Guards of Paris held a demonstration demanding the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a Commune. By order of the Government of National Defence, the Breton Mobile Guard, which was defending the Hôtel de Ville, opened fire on the demonstrators. The government started arresting demonstrators, ordered the closing of Paris clubs, banned public meetings and suspended several newspapers. Having suppressed the revolutionary movement by means of terror, the government began preparations to surrender Paris. p. 141

[128] At the outset, the leaders of the Paris sections placed much store in the elections to the National Assembly, and the Paris Federal Council decided to send Frankel and Serraillier, the tried leaders of the Paris sections, to Bordeaux to render help to Tolain and Malon—members of the International—who were elected deputies. p. 142

[129] For the meetings held in London on January 5, 6 and 10, 1871 see Notes 75 and 104. p. 142

[130] This question was discussed at a meeting of the Paris Federal Council on February 15, 1871. p. 143

[131] This refers to the events in Paris on January 27, 28 and 29, 1871. p. 143

[132] On January 4, 1871, Delescluze, Mayor of the 19th *Arrondissement,*

resigned by way of protest against the government's policy of capitulation. p. 143

[133] The tavern where, on January 9, 1871, delegates from several bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organisations of London met to discuss preparations for the ceremonial reception of Jules Favre who was supposed to come to London. Odger, too, attended the meeting; he declared that he was in contact with the French Embassy. p. 144

[134] This was probably the Hyde Park meeting held on September 10, 1870, at which Odger, Le Lubez, Beesly and Merriman spoke. Odger was commissioned to hand over to Jules Favre an address to the French people approved by the meeting. Odger left for Paris together with William Trant, and on September 17 was received by Favre to whom he delivered the address. p. 144

[135] *The French branch in London* was founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian members (Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and others), the branch had some petty-bourgeois members (Le Lubez and later Félix Pyat). In 1868, after the General Council adopted, on Marx's suggestion, a resolution condemning Pyat's provocative statement (see *The General Council. 1866-1868,* p. 224), a split took place in the French branch: working-class members left the branch and it actually lost contact with the International. The remaining group, with Pyat at its head, continued to call itself the French branch in London and issue documents in the name of the International Association. Moreover, it often supported anti-proletarian groups that opposed Marx's line in the General Council. In the spring of 1870, the General Council again adopted a resolution on the so-called French branch in London which ceased to have any connection with the International Association (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, pp. 235-36). p. 145

[136] This refers to a letter from the Central Committee of the North-American sections to the General Council, dated February 12, 1871 and signed by F. A. Sorge, and to Osborne Ward's report of January 24, 1871 enclosed in this letter. p. 146

[137] For the *National Labour Union* see Note 28.

An error in the entry: the congress referred to in Sorge's letter was to be held in St. Louis; it met in August 1871. p. 146

[138] The entry is not exact: Sorge's letter refers to the great success of the banquet arranged by the New York sections on January 22, 1871. The sentence "They had now admission to the Union meetings" reflects, but not exactly, that part in Sorge's letter which speaks about the regular attendance in future, by the members of the

Central Committee of the International's sections, of the meetings of the New York Workmen's Union.

The strike of New York shoemakers began in December 1870 over the employers' attempt to reduce the wages by 15 per cent.

The general strike of Pennsylvania miners started in January 1871 and lasted over six months; the strikers demanded higher wages and the right to belong to a union; the strike was successful. p. 147

[139] In his letter Sorge complained that he had not received any documents from London (see p. 108 of the present volume). p. 147

[140] This refers to the appeal to resist the Prussian troops which were to occupy the western districts of Paris for a few days, under the preliminary peace treaty. The Paris Federal Council was aware that a clash with the Prussians would only play into the hands of reactionaries, and so it persuaded the National Guard's Central Committee to appeal to the population to evade any actions during the period of occupation, from March 1 to 3, 1871. p. 148

[141] The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 129 (numbered 128 by mistake), March 18, 1871. p. 150

[142] This letter was sent to Eccarius by William Gilliver, Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council, on March 7, 1871. p. 150

[143] This letter, dated March 2, 1871, was from the Central Committee of the North-American sections of the International to the General Council. The newly formed Irish section assumed the name Section No. 7. p. 150

[144] These elections were to the first Reichstag of the German Empire whose sessions opened on March 21, 1871. p. 150

[145] Marx outlines a letter from Paris received by Karl Kaub on March 13, 1871. p. 151

[146] For Le Maître mission see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, pp. 262-63. p. 153

[147] This refers to the international conference of representatives from Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy and Turkey held in London from January to March 1871 to discuss the revision of the Paris Treaty of 1856. p. 154

[148] See pp. 47-50 of the present volume. p. 157

[149] This statement was published in *The Times*, March 23, 1871 (over Eccarius's signature) and in *The Eastern Post* No. 130, March 25, 1871. p. 158

[150] The reference is to the Anti-Prussian League founded in Paris in the first half of March 1871. p. 158

The *Jockey Club*—aristocratic club in Paris founded in 1833.

[151] A meeting of wealthy Germans to celebrate Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian war was held in Zurich in March 1871. At this meeting a conflict arose between a group of French officers interned in Switzerland and the Germans. Reactionary papers, running a provocative campaign to undermine the internationalist ties between the workers of different countries, tried to attribute these events to the International. In its special statement the Zurich section of the International exposed the slanders spread by the bourgeois papers. Several trade unions of the city also issued statements to the effect that members of the International had not participated in the Zurich conflict. p. 158

[152] For the detailed exposure of this forgery that appeared in the Paris reactionary papers see Marx's statement in this volume, pp. 350-52

Serraillier made a mistake when he said that the forged letter was dated February 24; in the newspaper it appeared under date February 28. p. 159

[153] The contents of the letter, drawn up by Engels, were given in *The Times* on March 22, 1871. p. 159

[154] The letter was from Natalie Liebknecht to Marx, dated March 16, 1871. p. 159

[155] This apparently refers to a letter from Ledore, one of the leaders of the Brest section of the International, dated February 24, 1871, and also to a copy of Pierre Tréquer's report of January 26, 1871 about the events in Brest in September-October 1870. p. 159

[156] In the report of this Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post* No. 130, March 25, 1871, Engels's communication was given without his name being mentioned and it included facts from Serraillier's speech at this meeting. This was apparently done to give the English workers a complete and truthful picture of the Paris events. The text is supplied with the following introduction: "Respecting the events of the last few days in Paris, some very important information was received, which reveals that 'our own correspondents' are either grossly ignorant of what is going on, or maliciously slandering the working people of Paris." p. 160

[157] The reference is to the events in Paris on January 22, 1871. See Note 127. p. 161

158 Generals Clément Thomas and Clodt Lecomte were shot on Montmartre, on March 18, 1871, by soldiers who went over to the insurgent people. p. 162

159 The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 131, April 1, 1871. It contained information about the following facts not mentioned in the Minutes: the formation of the *Association Politique Ouvrière Nationale* in Geneva, the successful strike by Marseilles dockers, and the miners' strike that was still going on there. p. 163

160 Serraillier came to Paris on March 29, 1871. p. 163

161 *The Times*, March 27, 1871. p. 163

162 Concerning the amnesty in Vienna see Note 107. p. 164

163 In the autumn of 1870, the English republican movement gained strength due to the campaign for the recognition of the French Republic by Britain. In the spring of 1871, organisational unity was established and the Universal Republican League formed (see Note 184).

Under the influence of the Paris Commune a Left wing began to take shape which put social content into the republican slogans and actively supported the Commune. The General Council of the International took advantage of the numerous republican meetings to organise a campaign in support of the Commune.

One of the meetings was held in the Wellington Music Hall on March 22, 1871. This meeting, chaired by Odger, adopted a decision on the need to form a Central Republican Association and elected an Executive Committee which included Odger, Eccarius, Shipton, Weston, Le Lubez, Elliott. p. 164

164 This meeting was convened by the bourgeois radicals Holyoake, Bradlaugh and others on March 24, 1871 with a view to founding a Republican Club in London. Speaking at the meeting, held in the Hall of Science, Wade said that the real republicans were those Frenchmen who were just then being slandered by the British press. p. 164

165 The reference is to the 1701 act on the succession to the throne, under which Parliament was to decide the fate of the British crown in the event of the British monarch having no successors. p. 164

166 For the *Sunday League* see Note 27. p. 166

167 The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 132, April 8, 1871. p. 166

168 In this letter from the German-speaking section in San Francisco,

dated March 9, 1871, John A. Schoenner and Alex. Henninger wrote about attempts to found a section of the International among the English-speaking workers, for which purpose they had asked for the Association's documents in English. p. 166

169 This refers to a letter from Coenen to Marx, of March 29, 1871. In his reply to Coenen of April 5, 1871, Engels informed him of the measures the General Council had adopted to organise immediate assistance to the strikers. p. 167

170 At the General Council meeting on September 29, 1868, Cohn reported "that he had succeeded in inducing the Cigar-Makers of Brussels to form a trades union and to join the International Association" (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, p. 37). p. 167

171 See *The General Council. 1866-1868*, p. 109. p. 167

172 The General Council's circular letter to the workers' societies, signed by General Secretary Eccarius, was issued on April 5, 1871 (see pp. 353-54 of the present volume). p. 168

173 The letter referred to was from J. Lafaix, Secretary of the French-speaking section in San Francisco; it was written on March 12, 1871. p. 168

174 This apparently refers to a letter from Liebknecht to Marx, of April 1, 1871. Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner, arrested on December 17, 1870 on a charge of high treason, were released on remand until March 28, 1871. The trial took place in March 1872. p. 168

175 The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 133, April 15, 1871. It contained information about the strikes in Berlin and Augsburg and the miners' demonstration in Belgium, which was not recorded in the Minutes. The report mentioned, in particular, correspondence from London, full of slanderous allegations about the International, published in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and said: "From this description of the London agitators the London workmen will be able to form an idea of the character of the correspondence that appears from time to time in the London papers about the workmen on the Continent." p. 169

176 The letter (April 10, 1871) was from Th. Howse, Secretary of the Bristol Radical Association. p. 169

177 D. Spalding wrote the letter on April 4, 1871 to Eccarius. p. 169

178 The reference is to the General Council's circular letter of April 5, 1871 on the cigar-makers' strike in Antwerp (see pp. 353-54 of the present volume). p. 170

[179] This apparently refers to the strike of textile workers in Barcelona, of coopers in Santander and tanners in Valencia. Further, Engels reads correspondence from Barcelona published in *Der Volksstaat* on April 5, 1871. p. 170

[180] Engels has in mind the Bakuninists. p. 171

[181] The entry is not exact: the reference is to the monarchist newspaper *Province* published in Bordeaux (see Marx's letter to Liebknecht of [about April 10] 1871). p. 171

[182] The elections to the Commune took place on March 26, 1871. After the victorious uprising of the Paris people, power was held, from March 18 to 28, 1871, by the Central Committee of the National Guard which then resigned in favour of the Commune. p. 171

[183] This laconic remark by Engels refers to Favre's speech in the National Assembly on April 10, 1871. Favre tried to justify the Versailles government which had actually concluded an alliance with Bismarck in order to suppress the Paris Commune, and stated hypocritically that the government had rejected the help which Bismarck offered. In a number of articles and speeches, Marx and Engels exposed the treachery agreement between the French counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the country's enemies concluded for the purpose of suppressing the working-class movement. A prominent place in these exposures is taken by the address *The Civil War in France* (see pp. 356-416 of the present volume). p. 171

[184] *The Universal Republican League*—a petty-bourgeois organisation founded late in April 1871; its leadership included Odger, Bradlaugh, Le Lubez. It declared its goal to be the achievement of the intellectual, moral and material well-being of mankind by uniting republicans in all countries and spreading books, pamphlets and also general information through lectures and speeches at the various meetings. Besides demands for the nationalisation of the land and universal suffrage, its programme contained demands for the abolition of the titles and privileges of the clergy and aristocracy, as well as the implementation of the federative principle in the future world republic. p. 172

[185] *The International Democratic Association* included French and German petty-bourgeois émigrés in London and British bourgeois republicans. p. 172

[186] *The Reform League* was founded in London in February 1865, on the initiative and with the active participation of the General Council of the International, as the political centre of the mass

reform movement of the British workers. The reform movement's programme and its tactics towards bourgeois parties were elaborated under the direct guidance of Marx who advocated a British working-class policy that would be independent of the ruling parties. However, the League failed to carry out the line worked out by the General Council owing to the vacillations of the bourgeois radicals among the League's leaders who were afraid of the mass movement, and to the conciliatory policy pursued by the trade union leaders. The British bourgeoisie managed to split the movement, and in the summer of 1867 a modified reform was carried out which granted suffrage only to the petty bourgeoisie and to top sections of the working class, leaving the bulk of the workers politically disfranchised as before. p. 173

[187] The report of this meeting, published in *The Eastern Post* No. 134, April 22, 1871, contained information (not recorded in the Minutes) about the mass meetings of solidarity with the Paris Commune held throughout France and Switzerland, and cited excerpts from Leo Frankel's letter about the proclamation of the Commune printed in *Volkswille* and *Der Volksstaat*. p. 175

[188] The letter was from Richards, Secretary of the Oxford Republican Club, dated April 10, 1871. The Club's programme was reproduced in the newspaper report of this Council meeting. p. 175

[189] The reference is to H. Self's letter to Eccarius dated April 17, 1871. p. 175

[190] The letter, dated April 11, 1871 and signed by Fransisco Mora, was from the Spanish Federal Council. On April 19, Engels wrote a letter to Eccarius about the strike of Spanish textile workers which, in effect, was an outline of the General Council's message to the Manchester weavers' and spinners' trade unions. The message has never been found. p. 175

[191] These meetings were held in Berlin, Elberfeld, Hanover, Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden and other cities. p. 175

[192] This information was received by Marx from Johann Miquel through Kugelmann (see Marx's letter to Beesly, June 12, 1871). p. 176

[193] This resolution was published in the newspaper *Révolution politique et sociale*, organ of a Paris section, on April 16, 1871. The information about this was printed in *The Standard*, April 17, 1871. p. 176

[194] This meeting was called by the International Democratic Association (see Note 185) on April 16, 1871 to express solidarity with the

Paris Commune. It adopted a message to the Commune which was read out at the Commune's session and published in Paris papers. p. 176

[195] The newspaper report of this meeting (*The Eastern Post* No. 135, April 29, 1871) included the Council's resolution expelling Tolain from the International; this resolution was not recorded in the Minutes. p. 178

[196] Eccarius was invited to this meeting of the society by F. Schulz, in his letter of April 20, 1871. p. 179

[197] The reference is to the report, signed by Sorge, of the Central Committee of the North-American sections made on April 2, 1871. p. 180

[198] Serraillier was elected to the Commune at the additional elections on April 16, 1871, from the 2nd Paris *Arrondissement*. Eugène Dupont, a member of the General Council, was also nominated but he did not stand because he was unable to leave England for Paris. Anthime J. M. Dupont was elected from the 17th *Arrondissement*. p. 181

[199] This refers to Pyat's and Vésinier's slanders against Serraillier and Dupont, French members of the General Council, who were elected to the Paris Commune. To undermine Serraillier's influence in the Commune, Pyat spread rumours discrediting his political and moral prestige. Marx refuted these slanderous attacks in his letter to Frankel on April 26, 1871. p. 181

[200] The *Eastern Post* report of this meeting described the next part in Marx's speech as follows: "The people of Paris, according to the letters received, do not believe that any rising in the provinces will come to their aid, and they are fully conscious of being opposed by superior forces; but this gives them little concern provided the Prussians do not interfere. The greatest danger they fear is want of provisions. The great capitalists have run away, and the shopkeepers and tradesmen have little love for the Versailles Government. Three-fourths of them would have been bankrupt but for the decrees of the Commune concerning rent and commercial bills. A great part of the middle-class National Guards have joined the men at Belleville. It is stated in one of the letters that no one can have an idea of the enthusiasm of the people and the National Guards, and that the Versaillists must be fools to dream of entering Paris. The massacre of Duval and Flourens has excited a general sentiment of vengeance. Flourens did not fall in any encounter, he was literally assassinated in a house. His family and the Com-

mune sent an officer of the law for an authenticated statement of the cause of death, which would have involved an inquest, but the Versaillists flatly refused.

"Some information has been received by the Council about the trustworthiness of telegrams and paid correspondents. One of the first things the officers of the Commune did was to examine the papers and books of their predecessors. In the accounts of the Home Department of the Government of National Defence, there was an entry found of money having been paid for the construction of an improved portable guillotine. This new instrument for the slaughter of the Paris workmen was constructed while the patriots, now conspiring at Versailles, pretended to defend Paris against the Prussians. It was traced and found, and by order of the Commune, publicly burned with the old unimproved one. The telegrams and the correspondents had it that the people burned them to save their heads against the Commune.

"The Gas Company being robbed is another little bit. The municipal account showed that the Gas Company had received upwards of a million out of the rates levied on the inhabitants of Paris, which was registered as owning, while the same Gas Company had a large balance of the Bank of France. When no response was made to the application to refund, the Commune sent the brokers, and when the company found that matters had become serious, that their cash-box and goods were seized, they gave a cheque on the Bank of France for the amount, and their cash-box and goods were restored. These two cases may serve as samples.

"The greatest crime of the Commune is doing all these things at so cheap a rate. The pay of ordinary functionaries is only equal to skilled workmen's wages, the salary of the highest officials is only at the rate of £240 a year. Surely, they must be mean people, they cannot have any gentlemen among them—fancy a gentleman giving ministerial parties and Lord Mayor's dinners on £240 a year." p. 181

[201] Flourens was killed on April 3, Duval was shot by the Versailles troops on April 4, 1871. p. 181

[202] The reference is to the address on the Commune which Marx was preparing at the time on the General Council's instructions. p. 182

[203] The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 136, May 6, 1871. p. 182

[204] The reference is to Th. Howse's letter to Eccarius written on April 26, 1871. p. 183

205 The reference is to a letter from the Bakuninist G. Sentinon to Eccarius, dated April 15, 1871. p. 183

206 Jung refers to the letter of Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya, dated April 24, 1871. p. 184

207 This question was raised by Milner at the General Council meeting on February 8, 1870 (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, p. 211). p. 185

208 The resolution to collect general labour statistics was first adopted at the Geneva Congress of the International and confirmed by the Lausanne, Brussels and Basle congresses (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, p. 298). The London Conference of 1871 introduced a clause to that effect into the Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association (see pp. 461-62 of the present volume). p. 186

209 The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 137, May 13, 1871. p. 186

210 The reference is to the letter of H. Self, Secretary of the London Society of Compositors (May 2, 1871), and to that of A. Loe, Secretary of the River Thames Ship Caulkers' Society (May 9, 1871). p. 187

211 The letter referred to was from Henri Perret, Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee, dated April 23, 1871. p. 187

212 The letter of John Wallis, Secretary of the Canterbury Working Men's Mutual Protection Society, was included in the report of this General Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post* No. 137, May 13, 1871. p. 188

213 Engels refers to the intention of the petty-bourgeois republicans who won at the municipal elections on April 30, 1871 to call municipal congresses at Bordeaux, Lyons, Lille and Nantes to put an end to the Civil War. Thiers's government forbade these congresses under the law of 1855 prohibiting municipalities from having contacts with one another. p. 190

214 The meeting was held at Freemasons' Hall on May 16, 1871. p. 190

215 The reference is to the electoral reform of 1832. p. 191

216 This was the campaign started by Owenites to organise workers' consumer societies; its centre was in Rochdale. p. 191

217 Engels probably refers to Owen's work *Essays on the Formation of Character* published in 1812-13. p. 192

[218] In 1818, during his tour abroad, Owen visited Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) where the Holy Alliance was holding a congress. He wrote letters there to Alexander II trying to persuade the Emperor that his principles were correct. p. 192

[219] The reference is to a letter from J. E. Keller, Secretary of the Dutch Federal Council, dated May 10, 1871, which quoted *Handelsblad*. p. 193

[220] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 139, May 27, 1871, under the title "The International Association and the Commune". p. 200

[221] *L'Internationa*l—daily newspaper published in French in London from 1863 to 1871. p. 201

[222] Following the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, many Frenchmen emigrated to England. The English workers rendered assistance to the proletarians and democrats among the French refugees. p. 202

[223] On May 31, 1871, in fulfilment of this decision, the English members of the General Council called a meeting of representatives of workers and democratic circles on the Council's premises to discuss the question as to how to help the Commune's refugees, especially in view of Jules Favre's demand to extradite them. It was decided to send a delegation to Gladstone to demand, in the name of the English workers, that the Communards be granted right of asylum in England; Gladstone refused to receive the delegation. p. 203

[224] This refers to the "Adresse du 3[e] Congrès de la Fédération Romande de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à la Commune de Paris"—the message of the Third Congress of the Romance Federation (held in Geneva) to the Paris Commune dated May 17, 1871. p. 203

[225] The address referred to here was *The Civil War in France*, one of the most important works of scientific communism; on the example of the Paris Commune, it developed the main propositions of Marxism on the class struggle, the state, revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the very first days of the Paris Commune, Marx carefully collected and studied material on its activities—publications in French, English and German newspapers, information in letters from Paris, etc. Marx began to write the General Council's address on the Paris Commune after April 18 and continued working on it throughout May. Having finished the first and second drafts which

appeared to be a preparatory version of this work, Marx started drawing up the final text of the address.

It was first published in London in English as a pamphlet (1,000 copies), on June 13, 1871. p. 204

[226] The reference is to the General Council's two addresses on the Franco-Prussian war, of July 23 and September 9, 1870 (see pp. 323-29 and 333-42 of the present volume). p. 204

[227] The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 141, June 10, 1871. p. 204

[228] *Fenian Brotherhood*—Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood—a secret organisation founded in the late 1850s among the Irish immigrants in America and later extended to Ireland. Its members fought for Ireland's independence and the foundation of an Irish Republic. Objectively the Fenians voiced the interests of the Irish peasants although they came mainly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals. Marx and Engels more than once pointed to the weakness of the Fenian movement and criticised the Fenians for their plotting tactics and their sectarian and bourgeois-nationalistic views. Still they highly appreciated its revolutionary character and sought to guide it along the path of mass struggle and joint action with the English working class.

*Carbonari*—members of a secret society that was active in Italy in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, and in France—in 1820s.

*Marianne*—the name of a secret republican society in France founded in 1850; during the Second Empire it opposed Napoleon III. p. 206

[229] *The Contemporary Review*—English monthly of a bourgeois-liberal trend; has been appearing in London from 1866. Mazzini's article mentioned by Marx was published in its June issue, 1871. p. 206

[230] See Note 135. p. 207

[231] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 142, June 17, 1871. p. 209

[232] This letter was drawn up by Marx and Engels (see Note 439). p. 210

[233] The reference is to the documents on Jules Favre's shady past published by Jean Millière, a deputy to the National Assembly (see *The Civil War in France*, p. 359 of the present volume). p. 212

[234] The joiners' strike in Newcastle testified to the English workers' growing movement for the nine-hour working day. It began in

April 1871 and lasted over four months. In the course of the strike the workers had on many occasions to fight the employers' attempts to bring strikebreakers from abroad, mainly from Belgium. The letter mentioned by Jung was sent by him to Brismée on June 10, 1871. p. 215

[235] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 143, June 24, 1871. It mentioned that the General Council had received many letters supporting the Council's address *The Civil War in France*. p. 216

[236] In his letter, published in *The Daily News* on June 20, 1871, Holyoake asserted that the signatures of Odger and Lucraft were presumably not put to the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* legitimately. Holyoake's letter and the General Council's reply drawn up by Engels (see pp. 421-22 of the present volume) were reproduced in the report of this meeting of the General Council published in *The Eastern Post*. p. 216

[237] Mottershead alludes to the election of Lucraft to the London School Board which held its meeting in the Guildhall. p. 218

[238] In the newspaper report of this Council meeting (see Note 235) the text of Marx's speech is given as follows: "Citizen Marx said that he was glad to observe that the workmen on the Continent were thoroughly outspoken upon the subject of the Commune. Meetings had been held in Geneva, Brussels, Munich, Vienna and Berlin, denouncing the Thiers-Favre massacres. He also called attention to the fact that a number of so-called manifestoes had appeared in the French papers, purporting to be issued by the Paris section of the International. They were all forgeries issued by the French police for the purpose of entrapping the unwary; it showed the dirty actions to which a despicable government could descend."

The General Council's letter exposing the forgeries fabricated by the Versailles police was written by Engels and sent to the editors of *The Examiner* and *The Spectator*, but was not published. For its text see p. 423 of the present volume.

*The Examiner*—English bourgeois-liberal weekly; published in London from 1808 to 1881.

*The Spectator*—English liberal weekly; published in London since 1828. p. 220

[239] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 144, July 1, 1871. It reported the receipt of a letter from Barcelona in support of the Commune and wrote about the German workers' support of Bebel's speech in the Reichstag in

defence of the Communards. p. 221

240 This letter was drawn up by Engels when *The Daily News*, on June 26, 1871, published letters by John Holyoake and Benjamin Lucraft. Holyoake, even after the General Council's declaration of June 21 (see pp. 421-22 of the present volume), again made slanderous attacks on *The Civil War in France*. In his letter Lucraft openly expressed his disagreement with the address and declared his resignation from the General Council. The text of Engels's letter was published in *The Daily News*, June 29, 1871 and *The Eastern Post* No. 144, July 1, 1871. p. 223

241 The text of this letter, signed by Marx, was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 144, July 1. (Davies's letter appeared in *The Daily News*, June 26, 1871.) p. 224

242 This refers to the articles and documents exposing Palmerston's foreign policy published in the 1830s and 1840s by David Urquhart, a British conservative publicist and politician. They were printed in *The Portfolio*, a collection of diplomatic documents, and in the various periodicals published by him. p. 225

243 The handbill announcing the publication of the second edition of *The Civil War in France* was issued by Truelove on July 1, 1871 (see illustration between pp. 224 and 225 of the present volume). p. 225

244 The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 145, July 8, 1871. p. 226

245 Marx, in this case, bases himself on John Mac Donnell's letter of July 4, 1871. p. 226

246 The reference is to the voluntary ambulance unit formed in Ireland in September 1870 to take part in the war on the side of the French Republic. The call to organise it met with wide response in Ireland, and this made the British Government suspicious. Mac Donnell who recruited volunteers in London was even arrested for "breach of the neutrality law". p. 227

247 Engels expounds, and then quotes, Carlo Cafiero's letter of June 12, 1871. p. 227

248 This was the report of the Central Committee of the North-American sections, dated June 20, 1871 and signed by Sorge. p. 228

249 Reid wrote about his intention to Marx on June 30, 1871. p. 228

250 Marx's letter sent to the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* on June 30, 1871 was not published by that paper but by *The Eastern Post*

No. 145, July 8, 1871. p. 231

[251] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 146, July 15, 1871. The newspaper report presents this part of Marx's speech as follows: "Dr. Marx emphatically denounced both the documents as forgeries of the police, and said that they were only part of a series of forgeries concocted by the police. The Government of Versailles dare not touch the International upon its principles, but resorted to such contemptible means as these forgeries, in order that it might create a prejudice against the Association, and find cases against its members. The International unlike its traducers was open in all its dealings. It had no occasion to resort to such practices as the use of cipher—never on any occasion did it use it. The International had too much logic to wish to destroy property which ought to belong to those who produced it."

The General Council's statements against this slander by the French police were all the more necessary since in their attacks against the International the police made use of the intercepted ciphered correspondence of the leaders of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, primarily of Bakunin. p. 232

[252] The report of the inaugural meeting of this section was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 146, July 15, 1871. p. 232

[253] See Note 444. p. 233

[254] *The Morning Advertiser*—English bourgeois radical daily; appeared in London from 1794 to 1934.

Marx's letter to the editor of *The Morning Advertiser* written on July 11, 1871 was published in this paper on July 13. p. 233

[255] This refers to A. O. Rutson's letter of July 7, 1871. Marx replied to Rutson on July 12, and sent him copies of the most important documents of the International. p. 233

[256] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 147, July 22, 1871. Serraillier's and Mottershead's criticism of Odger was given in the newspaper report in more detail than in the Minutes. p. 234

[257] This report was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 147, July 22, 1871. p. 238

[258] In 1871 the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* was published either in full or in part: in Dutch in the Hague newspaper *Toekomst* (June-July); in German—*Der Volksstaat* (June-July), in *Der Vorbote* (August-October) and as a pamphlet;

in French—in *L'Internationale*, Brussels (July-September) and in *L'Egalité*, Geneva (August-October); in Spanish—in *Emancipacion* (July-September); in Italian—in *Eguaglianza* (November-December); in Russian—in Zurich as a pamphlet (December). p. 238

259 The entry is apparently not exact: the Inaugural Manifesto was not adopted at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall; it was approved by the General Council at its meeting on November 1, 1864. p. 239

260 Marx refers to the circular of July 6, 1871 signed by a group of petty-bourgeois democrats hostile to the General Council—Marc Ratazzi, Le Lubez, Jourdain and others—as well as to the letters about the impoverished condition of Dombrowski's widow, which they sent out together with this circular. T. Dombrowski, brother-in-law of Dombrowska, sent a letter to Ratazzi on July 10, 1871, protesting sharply about the uproar over her financial difficulties. The same question was touched upon by Harris, a General Council member, in his letter published in *The National Reformer* No. 3, July 16, 1871. p. 240

261 The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 148, July 29, 1871. p. 240

262 The reference is to a letter from Charles Caron, President of the *Club International Républicain et d'Assistance Mutuelle de la Nouvelle Orléans*. On July 26, 1871, Marx replied to Caron informing him that the Club had been admitted into the International as a section; it was renamed Section No. 15.

*La Commune*—monthly organ of a section of the International in New Orleans; was published from June 1871 to December 1873. p. 241

263 The Central Committee of the North-American sections proposed that all sections submit to the Committee the lists of their members indicating their occupation and addresses. Section No. 23 in Washington replied that it wanted to keep direct ties with the General Council of the International and not with the Central Committee. In his letter to Sorge, dated September 12, 1871, Marx pointed out that in accordance with the Rules of the International each section was entitled to communicate directly with the General Council. p. 242

264 In the newspaper report of this meeting Engels's communication is given in greater detail. p. 242

265 This refers to Mazzini's article "Agli operai italiani" ("To the Italian Workers") published in the newspaper *Roma del Popolo*

on July 13, 1871; the article was forwarded to Engels by Cafiero. p. 242

[266] The question about the relationships between the Bakuninist Alliance and the International Association was raised in view of the fact that in one of his statements, made in Geneva, Utin (Outline) declared that the Alliance had never been admitted into the International.

In its decisions of December 22, 1868 and March 9, 1869 the General Council did refuse to admit the Alliance as an international organisation; should the Alliance dissolve itself, however, its separate groups were to be allowed to affiliate to the International Association as sections of the latter. Following the Alliance's declaration that it had dissolved itself, the General Council on March 9, 1869 admitted into the International the Geneva Central section which called itself the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, pp. 74-75, 299-301, 310-11). Subsequently, this section in fact headed the Bakuninists' secret organisation. p. 243

[267] The split took place at a congress of the Romance Federation held on April 4-6, 1870. The Bakuninists elected a new Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. In its resolution of June 28, 1870 the General Council decided that the old committee should be granted the right to call itself the Romance Federal Committee and suggested that the Chaux-de-Fonds Committee should adopt another name (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, p. 368). p. 244

[268] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 149, August 5, 1871. p. 246

[269] Marx gives the contents of Reid's letters of July 27 and 29, 1871. p. 247

[270] *La Liberté*—Belgian democratic newspaper, published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; from 1867 it was the organ of the International Association in Belgium. p. 247

[271] The newspaper report of this Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post* No. 149, August 5, 1871, continues as follows: "Of course, the object of publishing such language could be understood. It was to create a terror of the International, so that it might the more easily be prosecuted. Fires had occurred in Moscow, and it was supposed they were the result of publications justifying the Paris Commune. Could malicious sophistry go further?". p. 249

[272] The resolution abolishing the office of President of the General Council adopted at the Council meeting of September 24, 1867 was confirmed by the Basle Congress (September 1869). p. 251

[273] In May 1871 a big strike of engineers started in Newcastle. It was headed by the Nine Hours' League and assumed a particularly sharp character because the League, for the first time, had drawn into it workers who did not belong to the trade unions. The import of strikebreakers was prevented thanks to the effective support on the part of the General Council. In October the strike was successful, the engineers having obtained a 54-hour working week. p. 252

[274] On August 9, the General Council sent a letter, signed by Herman, *to the Belgian Federal Council informing it of the* Newcastle strike (see pp. 431-33 of the present volume).

The General Council's decision to send a delegation to Belgium was published, on August 19, 1871 in *The Eastern Post* No. 151 and *The Bee-Hive* No. 514. Cohn alone went to Belgium, but he presented himself there not as the Council's delegate but as a representative of the trade union and took actions independently of the Association's organisations. On his return to England, Cohn tried to attribute to himself everything that had been done by the Belgian sections. Cohn's behaviour was sharply criticised at the London Conference of 1871. p. 255

[275] For the *Reform League* see Note 186. p. 257

[276] The newspaper report of this Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post* No. 151, August 19, 1871, cites part of a letter received from Calcutta which says: "...great discontent exists amongst the people, and the British Government is thoroughly disliked. The taxation is excessive and the revenues are swallowed up in maintaining a costly system of officialism. As in other places the extravagancies of the ruling class contrast in a painful manner with the wretched condition of the workers, whose labour creates the wealth thus squandered. The principles of the International would bring the mass of the people into its organisation if a section was started." p. 258

[277] This apparently refers to the *Cosmopolitan Conference*, one of the short-lived organisations of bourgeois social reformers that existed in the U.S.A. in the early 1870s. p. 258

[278] This apparently refers to Cafiero's letter to Engels, dated July 12, 1871. p. 258

[279] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 152, August 26, 1871. p. 260

[280] The General Council's views on this question were expressed in the note "The Communist Prisoners" published in *The Eastern Post* No. 152, August 26, 1871. p. 261

[281] In *The Eastern Post* report of this Council meeting next comes the following: "...And then the Association would soon extend its ramifications throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. A great change had taken place in the ranks of the Republican Party. On the establishment of the Commune in Paris the leaders of the Republican Party in Spain—not knowing the social principles involved—went in for it. But as soon as they found out that it meant a struggle for more than municipal government they turned round and denounced it. This shocked the Spanish working class, which formed the bulk of the Republican Party. Having had their eyes opened, the people, not wishing to be used as tools, had turned to the International. Citizen Engels also reported that Citizen Paul Lafargue, son-in-law to Dr. Marx, and formerly a member of the General Council, had been arrested in Spain and sent under an escort of gendarmes to Madrid. The Government, however, finding nothing against him, had since liberated him." p. 262

[282] The reference is to Friedrich Bolte's letter to Marx, dated August 7, 1871. The appeal to the American sections calling on them to collect money for the refugees was drawn up by Marx and sent to Sorge on September 5, 1871. The text of the appeal has never been found. p. 262

[283] The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 153, September 2, 1871. Since the questions discussed were not intended for the press, the report reviewed letters received by the General Council. A letter from Calcutta wrote about the interest displayed there towards the International; a letter from America stated the need for drawing Negro workers into the International. Letters from England proposed that the International's principles should be propagated there, in particular, the demand to nationalise the land and instruments of production and to abolish class rule. p. 263

[284] *The Refugees' Society*, formed in London in July 1871, tried to take over the right to distribute money which the General Council collected for the refugees. Its leading members—Teuliere (secretary), Mellote, Rouiller, Aubrue, Duru and others—tried to establish direct ties with the International's sections in other countries, in

order to obtain from them money which was being collected for the refugees or information about the sums being sent to the General Council. Early in 1872 this society was reorganised into a mutual aid society. p. 263

285 *Reynolds's Newspaper*—English radical bourgeois weekly founded by Reynolds, a petty-bourgeois democrat close to Chartism; it has been published in London since 1850 and is now the mouthpiece of the co-operative movement. p. 263

286 The report of this Council meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 154, September 9, 1871. Since at this meeting the General Council began discussing questions connected with the preparations for the London Conference and therefore not intended for publication, the newspaper report cited letters which the Council had received from Boston (asking for a section to be founded there), from Belgium and other places. p. 266

287 In a letter to Marx, August 9, 1871, Truelove informed him that 200 copies of the first edition of *The Civil War in France* had not been circulated, of the second—600 copies, and that all the copies of the third edition remained with him. In a letter written on September 4, Truelove again requested the payment of the bill. p. 268

288 This apparently refers to clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8 of the proposals prepared for the Conference in the General Council's name (see pp. 315-16 of the present volume). p. 272

289 This clause was adopted on Mottershead's proposal at a meeting of the Sub-Committee on September 9, 1871 (see pp. 318-19 of the present volume). p. 272

290 At its session on September 22, 1871, the London Conference adopted a decision to form a provisional Federal Council for England (see p. 446 of the present volume). p. 277

291 *The Eastern Post* No. 157, September 30, 1871, also reports the foundation of a section in Turin and the formation of sections in all the major cities of Spain. It mentions two resolutions of the London Conference (without saying, however, that they had been adopted by the Conference but only referring to the General Council)—on the need to form working women's branches and on the formation of the Federal Council for England.

*The London Conference*, September 17-23, 1871, marked an important stage in the history of the International. The Conference was called because of the need for collective decisions on strengthening the ideological unity and organisation of the International,

the urgent tasks of the struggle against the Bakuninists and similar sectarian groups that were trying to split the movement, and other pressing problems; the conditions obtaining at the time made the convocation of a regular congress impossible. Not until the summer of 1871 did it become possible to convene the conference. The majority of the federations were in favour of a private conference. It was attended by 22 delegates with the right to vote and 10 with voice but no vote. Marx represented Germany, Engels—Italy, Dupont—France, Eccarius—the U.S.A. In all, there were nine sessions, all of them closed working sessions. The reports of the Conference were not intended for publication. Its most important decision was formulated in Resolution IX, "Political Action of the Working Class", which declared the need to found, in each country, an independent proletarian party whose aim would be the conquest of political power by the working class.

The Minutes of the Conference and other documents relating to it were first published in Russian in 1936 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Moscow). In the language of the original they appeared in the book entitled *La Première Internationale*. Recueil de documents..., Geneva 1962, Vol. II, pp. 145-315. p. 278

[292] The London Conference of 1871 appointed a special commission consisting of Marx, Vaillant, Verrycken, Mac Donnell and Eccarius to investigate the Swiss conflict; Engels also took part. At its sitting of September 18 (at Marx's flat) and at the Conference session on September 22, Utin, who was invited as a witness, told about the intrigues of another witness, the Bakuninist Robin (who had been a member of the *Egalité* editorial board up to January 1870), against the General Council in Geneva in 1869 and 1870, and about the fact that later, while in Paris, Robin in his letters supported the Swiss splitters. Robin sent a letter to the Conference refusing to take part in the discussion of the question. Those who participated in the Conference demanded of Robin to withdraw his letter. Engels formulated the Conference proposal as follows: "Considering that the letter addressed to the Conference by Citizen Robin contains a statement which is contrary to the facts and affects the honour of the commission, appointed by the Conference, and the honour of the Conference itself; that the Conference cannot agree with this letter, the Conference suggests that Citizen Robin should withdraw this letter warning him that otherwise the letter will be transferred to the General Council which will investigate it." p. 278

[293] For the split in Romance Switzerland in April 1870 see Note 267. The question was discussed at the London Conference and was

decided in favour of the genuine Romance Federal Council; it was proposed that the Bakuninist Council call itself the Council of the Jurassian Federation (see p. 448 of the present volume). p. 278

294 The reference is to a letter to Marx dated September 18, 1871 and signed, in the name of the *Socialisten* editorial board, by H. Brix, P. Geleff, L. Pio and Anderson. They wrote about the first achievements of the section founded in Copenhagen, the wide circulation in the country of the journal *Socialisten*, the translation into Danish of the Statutes of the International, the favourable conditions for the spread of the International's influence in Denmark and about the sections' intention to take part in the forthcoming election campaign. The contents of the letter were given in the report of this General Council meeting published in *The Eastern Post*.

*Socialisten*—Danish workers' paper; appeared in Copenhagen from July 1871 to May 1874; from April 1872 it came out daily. p. 279

295 This apparently refers to a letter from Gustav Kwasniewski, a member of the Berlin section. On September 29, 1871 Marx wrote to him: "The conference of delegates of the International Working Men's Association, which met in London last week, decided that in future the General Council would not issue membership cards. Instead, the General Council would send out stamps (of the postage stamp type), which each member of the Association would affix either to his copy of the Rules or to his membership card—where they are issued in the country concerned, as, for example, in Switzerland. Therefore I shall send you a certain number of stamps as soon as they are issued."

In another letter (October 18, 1871), Josewitz, the section's corresponding secretary, also asked for advice as to a public meeting. In his reply Marx wrote on November 6: "As for Berlin, in my opinion there should be no public meetings 'in general' until there has been more propaganda there. Nevertheless it is advisable that specific motives of general importance and public interest should be exploited both for meetings and for printed manifestoes." p. 280

296 The reference is to Crenol's letter to Vaillant, dated September 24, 1871. p. 280

297 The entry is not clear; the reference is apparently to De Paepe's letter about the end of the strike. p. 281

298 At the eighth session of the London Conference, September 22, 1871, the following was adopted: "The Conference approves of the

financial activity of the General Council and subscribes to the conclusions of the commission drawing special attention of the General Council to the introduction of a more clear accounting." p 282

[299] The report of this Council meeting was published in *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* on October 22, 1871. p. 283

[300] The reference is to Resolution I of the London Conference (see p. 440 of the present volume). p. 284

[301] See Note 274. p. 286

[302] The original text of the Rules of the International Working Men's Association was written by Marx in English in October 1864 and approved by the Central Council on November 1 of that year as the Provisional Rules (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 288-91). At the Geneva Congress in 1866 the Rules were confirmed with some additions and amendments together with the Administrative Regulations supplemented to them. In the autumn of 1866, the Rules and Administrative Regulations were translated by Marx and Lafargue into French and late in November published in London as a pamphlet which took into account the basic changes introduced at the Geneva Congress. In 1867, an English text of the Rules and Administrative Regulations was printed in London; it took into account the changes introduced into them, since the adoption of the Provisional Rules in 1864, by the Geneva and Lausanne congresses. At the next congresses—in Brussels and Basle—a number of resolutions were adopted which constituted addenda to the Rules. However, the texts of the Rules without these addenda and amendments were current at the time. The English texts published after the Geneva and Lausanne congresses, too, contained some substantial inaccuracies. Besides, there was no official edition of the Rules in different languages, which led to poor translations of them in a number of countries. The French translation of 1866 prepared by Tolain, a Right-wing Proudhonist, distorted the most important proposition on the role of the political struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Considering all these circumstances, Marx and Engels prepared for the London Conference a draft resolution on the publication of a new, authentic edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations in English, German and French. The Conference adopted the resolution, moved by Marx, and decided that in future all translations into other languages should be approved by the General Council.

At the end of September-October 1871, Marx and Engels prepared a new edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations,

taking into account the resolutions of all the congresses of the International and of the London Conference. At the same time they excluded from them clauses which had become invalid. They wrote an "Appendix" which substantiated in detail all amendments and addenda. Marx and Engels directly supervised the translation of the Rules and Regulations into German and French. The official English edition—*General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*—appeared as a pamphlet in London early in November, in French—in December 1871; in German the Rules and Regulations were published in pamphlet form in Leipzig and in the newspaper *Der Volksstaat* No. 12, February 10, 1872. For lack of money, the General Council failed to publish the official edition of the Rules and Regulations, prepared with Engels's participation, in Italian. In an abridged form they were issued in Italian by the *Plebe* and *Eguaglianza* publishers. p. 287

303 The report of this Council meeting was published in *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper*, October 22, 1871. p. 288

304 *The Federal Chamber of Working Men's Societies* (Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières)—an association of trade unions and other workers' societies in Paris—was formed on the International's initiative in 1869. It embraced over 50 organisations, each sending to the Federal Chamber from one to three delegates. The Chamber organised mutual aid for striking workers and maintained close ties with the International. p. 288

305 The resolution proposed by Engels was published in German, over Marx's signature, in *Der Volksstaat* No. 83, October 14; in French it was published in *La Liberté* No. 174, October 15, *Qui Vive!* No. 13, October 17, *L'Egalité* No. 20, October 21, *Le Mirabeau* No. 118, October 22; in Italian, in *Plebe* No. 122, October 19; in Spanish, in *Emancipacion* No. 19, October 23, 1871. The text in *Plebe* was accompanied by the following note from Engels: "London, October 13. Citizen Editor of *Plebe*! The General Council has empowered me to send you the following resolution with a request to publish it in the columns of your respected newspaper. Please accept my best wishes, Frederico Engels, Secretary for Italy." p. 289

306 On September 20, 1871, at the sixth session of the London Conference, Vaillant moved a draft resolution on inseparable links between political and social questions and on the necessity of consolidating the workers' forces politically. In the course of the discussion of this resolution, Serraillier proposed that the resolution should be provided with a preamble about the harm of distorted

translations of the Rules. The Conference instructed the Council to carry out the final editing of the two proposals. The new text of the resolution, including Vaillant's and Serraillier's proposals, was drawn up by Marx and Engels (see pp. 444-45 of the present volume). p. 289

307 The report of this Council meeting was published in *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* on October 22, 1871. p. 290

308 *The French Section of 1871* was formed in London in September 1871 by some French refugees. The spy Durant wormed his way into the section but was soon exposed by the General Council. Its leaders established close contacts with the followers of Bakunin in Switzerland and joined hands with them in attacking the organisational principles of the International. The rules of the French Section of 1871 were printed in *Qui Vive!* No. 6, October 8-9, 1871.

*Qui Vive!*—daily newspaper, organ of the French section of 1871; was published in London in 1871. p. 291

309 The report of the London Conference, written by Eccarius, was published in *The Scotsman* on October 2, 1871. Engels wrote to Liebknecht on May 27 [28], 1872: "Some days after the Conference an article appeared in *The Scotsman* and *The Manchester Guardian* reporting in detail some of the sessions of the Conference and its resolutions, and later it went the round of the British and European press. You can imagine the general indignation. Everybody cried about betrayal and demanded that the traitor should be sternly punished. Everywhere, where the International's papers existed, they abused the General Council which, they said, let such things reach the bourgeois press whereas our own newspapers had not received any information.

"We realised at once who the traitor was. The article referred only to those sessions at which Eccarius had been present, while not a word was said about the others except for inaccurate accounts of some of the resolutions. Marx took advantage of the first opportunity when we remained tête-à-tête with Eccarius to tell him this to his face and advised him in friendly fashion to make a clean breast of it, to face the music and to be more discrete in future. Eccarius went to Jung, President of the Inquiry Commission appointed *ad hoc*, and told him that he had really given an article about the Conference to the local Office of the New York newspaper *The World*, but with the categorical reservation of not publishing it in the English press. But he surely knew that people of that kind were dishonest and had connections with the English provincial press; moreover, he should have known that he had no

right to sell the American press information about the proceedings of the Conference."

*The Scotsman*—Scottish liberal newspaper; began publication in Edinburgh in 1817; in 1855 it became a daily paper. p. 293

310 From the foundation of the International until the autumn of 1871, the General Council performed the functions of the British Council. In October 1871, a provisional Federal Council was set up, consisting of representatives of the British sections and of some societies affiliated to the International. From the very beginning its leadership included a group of reformists headed by Hales, the General Council's Secretary, who opposed the General Council (see The General *Council. 1871-1872. Minutes.* Moscow). They were also against the policy of proletarian internationalism in the Irish question. After the Hague Congress the reformist part of the British Federal Council, having refused to recognise the Congress decisions, joined the Bakuninists and started a slanderous campaign against the General Council and Marx. The revolutionary-minded part of the British Council (Vickery, Dupont, Riley, Murray, Milner, Lessner and others) actively supported Marx and Engels. Early in December 1872, a split took place in the British Federal Council. Part of it, true to the Hague Congress decisions, constituted itself as the British Federal Council and established direct ties with the General Council, whose seat had been transferred to New York. Marx and Engels helped the British Council to organise its work. All attempts made by the reformists to take the lead in the British Federation of the International fell through.

The British Federation ceased to exist at the close of 1874, when the activities of the International as a whole were coming to an end and the opportunists temporarily gained the upper hand in the British working-class movement. p. 293

311 The report of this meeting was published in *The Eastern Post* No. 160, October 21, 1871. p. 296

312 The appeal to the American sections calling upon them to collect money for the Paris Commune refugees was written by Marx and sent to Sorge. The text of the appeal has never been found.

Forty-two pounds were collected by German section No. 1 in the U.S.A. and sent to the General Council for distribution. Since the deputation from the Refugees' Society in London, which came to the General Council meeting on August 29, 1871 (see pp. 263-64 of the present volume), demanded of the General Council to give account of the distribution of the refugee fund, the General Council adopted, on Engels's proposal, a resolution stating that nobody

except the subscribers had the right to demand an account from the General Council. p. 296

[313] The rules of the local organisations of the International were usually approved by the General Council. First they were considered by the Council's commission consisting of Marx, Jung and Serraillier, appointed on October 6, 1871 to prepare a new edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations. On January 2, 1872, the General Council adopted a decision reorganising the provisional commission into a committee to examine rules. p. 297

[314] Of the four resolutions on the General Council's composition passed by the Conference, only two were published: the first (Resolution I, "Composition of General Council") and the fourth (point 1 of the section "Special Votes of the Conference"—XIII) (see pp. 440 and 446 of the present volume). The second and the third resolutions can be found in these Minutes and in the Minutes of the London Conference (see *La Première Internationale*. Recueil de documents..., Geneva 1962, Vol. II, p. 213). p. 298

[315] See Note 298. p. 298

[316] The declaration relative to Nechayev (for the full text see p. 434 of the present volume) was drawn up by Marx in accordance with the London Conference decision instructing the General Council to issue a declaration to the effect that the International Working Men's Association had nothing whatever to do with the so-called Nechayev conspiracy.

In 1869 Nechayev established contacts with Bakunin and developed activities directed at founding, in a number of Russian cities, a secret society called the Narodnaya Rasprava (People's Justice). The study-circles organised by Nechayev preached the vulgar ideas of "absolute destruction" and circulated anarchist leaflets. Revolutionary-minded students and middle-class intellectuals entered the Nechayev organisation because they were attracted by its sharp criticism of the tsarist regime and by the appeals to wage a resolute struggle against it. Nechayev received from Bakunin the credentials of a representative of the so-called European Revolutionary Union and used them to pass himself off for a representative of the International, thereby misleading the members of his organisation.

When Nechayev's organisation was broken up and its participants tried in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1871, his methods were made public—blackmail, intimidation, deception and the like. The bourgeois press made use of the trial to denigrate the International although it was not associated with Nechayev in any way.

The General Council's declaration was translated into French by Engels. In German it was published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 88, November 1, 1871 (signed by Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Germany and Russia); in French, in *L'Egalité* No. 21, November 5, 1871, and *Qui Vive!* No. 14, October 18, 1871; in Italian, in *Gazettino Rosa* No. 306, November 3, 1871, and *Plebe* No. 122, October 19, 1871. p. 298

317 At the eighth session of the London Conference, on September 22, 1871, when the position of the International in France was discussed, Utin moved four *resolutions relating to France,* which were based on the ideas expressed at this session by Marx. Of the four resolutions adopted by the Conference on this question only the first two were published (see pp. 445-46 of the present volume). The third resolution made it incumbent upon the Belgian and Spanish Federal Councils and the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland to secure ties between the French sections and the General Council and to admit sections being founded by the French refugees into the relevant federations. The fourth resolution suggested that the General Council issue an address to the French workers calling on them to fight openly against the counter-revolutionary government and, despite persecution, to found sections of the International in accordance with its Rules. The latter resolution was not fulfilled: at its meeting on October 24, the General Council decided to abstain from publishing the address in order not to harm the imprisoned Communards.

The drawing up of the manifesto to the Italian workers was postponed until the end of the Italian workers' conference which was supposed to be opened early in November 1871. The compilation of a reply to the governments was likewise postponed. p. 298

318 See Note 310. p. 299

319 The reference is to the *"Special Votes of the Conference"* (XIII) (see p. 446 of the present volume). The first resolution was proposed by De Paepe and adopted on September 22 at the eighth session of the London Conference. The second resolution, adopted at the ninth session on September 22, is based on the conclusions contained in Marx's speech, dealing with the position of the International in Germany and England, in which Marx emphasised the German workers' solidarity with the Paris Commune, and on Utin's proposal. The third resolution was adopted on September 20, at the fifth session, following the declaration by the Spanish Federation of its memorandum on the organisation of the International in Spain. The fourth resolution was moved by De Paepe at the ninth session in connection with Utin's statement about the Nechayev trial:

Utin exposed the Bakuninist intrigues in Russia. Marx spoke on this question, too, and noted that the bourgeois papers made use of Nechayev's conspiracy to slander the International Association. p. 299

[320] Resolution V—"*Formation of Working Women's Branches*"—was moved by Marx in the name of the General Council and adopted on September 19, at the third session of the Conference. Substantiating this resolution, Marx stressed the need for founding women's sections in countries whose industries engage many women. The resolution was included in the Administrative Regulations as point 6 of Section V (see pp. 442 and 460 of the present volume).

Resolution VI—"*General Statistics of Labour*"—was moved by Marx in the name of the General Council on September 19, at the third session of the Conference, and adopted with the addenda proposed by Utin and Frankel.

In support of the resolution Marx noted that general statistics were particularly important in organising aid for striking workers by those of other countries, and were also needed for other joint actions in the spirit of international proletarian solidarity. This resolution was included in the Administrative Regulations as points 1-4 of Section VI (see pp. 442-43, 461 and 468 of the present volume).

At its congresses the International often discussed the question of sending labour statistics to the General Council; on more than one occasion the Council sent circular letters to the local sections asking for such information. p. 299

[321] The reference is to Resolution III—"*Delegates of the General Council*"—moved by Marx in the General Council's name on September 19, at the fourth session of the 1871 London Conference; it was included in the Administrative Regulations as point 8 of Section II (see pp. 441 and 458 of the present volume). p. 299

[322] This refers to Resolution VIII—"*Agricultural Producers*"—moved by Marx and adopted on September 22, 1871, at the eighth session of the London Conference (see p. 443 of the present volume). Speaking on this, Marx emphasised the need to conduct propaganda in the rural districts and suggested that the question of ensuring an alliance between the working class and the labouring peasantry should be discussed. p. 299

[323] The reference is to Resolution XV—"*Convocation of Next Congress*" —moved by De Paepe and Eugen Steens on September 22, 1871, at the ninth session of the London Conference (see p. 447 of the present volume). p. 299

[324] This refers to Resolution VII —"*International Relations of Trades' Unions*"—submitted on September 20, 1871, at the fifth session of the

London Conference, by Frankel, Bastelica, Utin, Serraillier, Lorenzo and De Paepe in the course of the discussion of Delahaye's proposal which was criticised by Marx and other Conference delegates and was rejected. The final editing of the resolution was made by Marx and Engels (see p. 443 of the present volume). p. 299

325 See Note 316. p. 299

326 Resolution XVI—"*Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*"—was proposed by Marx on September 21, 1871, at the seventh session of the London Conference, where Marx, after the discussion of this question in the commission, made a report on the Alliance and the splitting activities of the Bakuninists in Switzerland; on the basis of this report the Conference adopted both this resolution and Resolution XVII (see p. 447-49 of the present volume). p 299

327 Since the Conference of the International was of a consultative nature, its resolutions, according to the Rules, were not binding like those of the regular Congress; the London Conference (1871) resolutions, therefore, were published as a circular letter of the General Council to all federations and sections of the International (see pp. 440-50 of the present volume).

In English and French the circular was published as separate pamphlets in London early in November 1871 (in English: *Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association. Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871.* London, 1871); in German, in Leipzig apparently at the end of 1871; the resolutions were also published in French in the newspapers *L'Egalité* No. 22, November 19, 1871, *L'Internationale* No. 150, November 26, 1871; in German—in *Der Volksstaat* No. 92, November 15, 1871, in *Der Vorbote* No. 12, December 1871; in Spanish—in the newspaper *Emancipacion* No. 24, November 27, 1871; in Italian—in the newspaper *Plebe* No. 136, November 23, 1871—there was published, in abridged form, Resolution IX. p. 300

328 This refers to the Conference resolution "*Political Action of the Working Class*" (IX) (see pp. 444-45 of the present volume). p. 300

329 For the text of the resolution unanimously approved by the General Council on Marx's report see pp. 435-39 of the present volume. p. 305

330 The newspaper report of this Council meeting *(The Eastern Post* No. 160, October 21, 1871) gives Engels's communication in greater detail. It speaks of Mazzinni's diminishing influence over the workers, the growth of the working-class press and the formation of sections throughout the country as a result of the dissolution by the government of the sections in Naples and Florence. p. 305

[331] *Section No. 12 of New York* was formed by bourgeois reformers who sought to utilise the International in the U.S.A. to realise their programme of bourgeois reforms. When the General Council refused to recognise it as the leading section in America, it launched a campaign against the Council uniting around itself all petty-bourgeois elements. This led to a split between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois sections in the U.S.A. In March 1872, the General Council expelled Section No. 12 from the International; this was confirmed by the Hague Congress in September 1872. p. 305

[332] As the executive body of the General Council the Sub-Committee fulfilled a wide range of duties in the day-to-day guidance of the International's activities and in preparing the International's documents which were then submitted to the General Council for consideration. From June 1872 it was called the Executive Committee of the General Council. p. 305

[333] The reference is to a small party of Serbian and Bulgarian students in Zurich who, influenced by the anarchists, organised themselves into a group of the Alliance, calling themselves "Slovenski zaves". On October 28, 1871, Utin, in answer to Marx's inquiry, said that the Bakuninists had tried to organise a Slav section to counterbalance the Russian section of the International. In the spring of 1872 their group made attempts to constitute itself as a section of the International but the General Council refused to accept it, following which the group entered, in June-July 1872, the Jurassian Federation (the section's programme was drawn up by Bakunin); in the summer of 1873 it ceased to exist. p. 305

[334] This refers to the official publication of the London Conference resolutions as the General Council's circular (see Note 327). p. 306

[335] The full text of the resolution proposed by Boon, follower of O'Brien, reads: "That in the opinion of this Council, the time has now arrived for the formation of an international bureau and depository wherein the Internationals may deposit their worked-up products and receive for the same an International Note or Exchange Medium; such notes to be exchangeable among all the members of the International (and the public if they will accept them). Such a system of International Exchange based upon positive and exchangeable wealth (such as boots, clothing, watches, etc.) would be the means of cementing the International in one mighty bond of brotherhood and be the means of inaugurating a system of exchange enabling the working classes of all countries to exchange their products on the principle of cost, the limit of price, without the assistance or control of traders in all countries."

The O'Briennists thought that the workers could be liberated from capitalist slavery with the help of producers' co-operatives. In November 1871, Marx wrote to Bolte that these O'Briennists were "full of absurdities and fantasies such as the charlatan plans relative to the currency, the false emancipation of women, etc.", but "despite their absurdities they form in the Council a counterbalance to the trade unionists, frequently an essential one. They are more revolutionary, more resolute on the land question, less nationalist and less liable to bribery on the part of the bourgeoisie in one form or another. Otherwise they would have been long since turned out." p. 306

[336] This refers to the text of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Association (see Note 302). Engels wrote to Liebknecht on November 4, 1871: "The English text of the revised Rules is at the printer's, translations into French, German and Italian are being prepared. All this has cost us a great deal of work, because Marx and I had to take upon themselves the entire organisation of this work as well as editing." p. 307

[337] See Note 27. p. 308

[338] A group of French refugees, participants in the Commune (A. Claris, B. Malon, Jules Guesde, André Léo and others), and members of the former Geneva section "Alliance of Socialist Democracy", in September 1871 set up a section of propaganda and revolutionary socialist action in Switzerland. Their first letter (to Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland) was sent on September 8, the second —on October 4, and the third—on October 20, 1871. On the third Jung wrote: "Reply to the citizens that I have asked for the information from the Romance Federal Committee, and write to that Committee." p. 309

[339] See Note 439. p. 313

[340] These propositions were submitted by Marx to the General Council at its meeting held on September 5, 1871, and were approved by it. The available manuscript, written by Engels, contains a correction in Marx's hand. The word "Rechnungsablage" (Balance-Sheet) at the beginning of the manuscript refers to the General Council's proposal to prepare the current balance-sheet for the Conference. p. 314

[341] These are draft resolutions submitted by Marx to the Sub-Committee which endorsed them on September 9, 1871. Later on, additions were made to the drafts; in particular, clauses were added on the formation of working women's sections and on the general statistics of the working class. On September 12, after Engels's report, these resolutions were discussed and approved by the General Council. At

the London Conference Marx moved them on behalf of the General Council. Some of them were edited and subsequently included in the official publication of the Conference resolutions (see resolutions of the London Conference II, III, IV and X, pp. 440-42 and 445 of the present volume). The second numbering of the preliminary resolutions (in bold type in the MS) seems to have been made after they had been discussed in the General Council and reflects the order in which it was expected they would be considered at the Conference.

Engels's MS contains additions made by Marx. p. 315

[342] See Note 345. p. 317

[343] The first address—"*The General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War*"—was written by Marx between July 19 and 23, 1870. In German, it was first published in Leipzig, in *Der Volksstaat* No. 63, August 7, 1870 (in Wilhelm Liebknecht's translation). Marx heavily edited the German text and retranslated nearly half of it. The new German translation was printed in Geneva in *Der Vorbote* No. 8, August 1870, and also issued as a leaflet. In 1891, for the twentieth anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels published the first and the second address of the General Council in the German edition of *The Civil War in France* printed in Berlin by the publishing house of the newspaper *Vorwärts*. Both addresses were translated by Louise Kautsky under Engels's supervision.

In French, the first address was published in August 1870 in *L'Egalité, L'Internationale* No. 82, August 7, and *Le Mirabeau* No. 55, August 7, 1870. It was also issued as a leaflet, the translation being made by the General Council's commission.

In Russian, the first address was first printed in Geneva in August-September 1870 in the newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo* No. 6-7. In 1905 the first and the second addresses were included in the Russian edition of *The Civil War in France* that came out under Lenin's editorship in the translation made from the 1891 German edition.

*Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause)—newspaper (journal, until April 1870) published between 1868 and 1870 in Geneva by a group of Russian revolutionary émigrés; the first issue was prepared by Bakunin; later on, in October 1868, its editors, N. Utin included, broke away from Bakunin and came out against his views. In April 1870, the newspaper became the press organ of the Russian section of the International and as such it pursued the policy of Marx and the General Council; it published the International's documents. p. 323

344 See *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 286-87. p. 323

345 The plebiscite was conducted by Napoleon III's government in May 1870 in an attempt to strengthen the shaky regime of the Second Empire which aroused discontent. The questions were so worded that it was impossible to express one's disapproval of the Empire's policy without at the same time declaring against all democratic reforms. Despite this demagogic manoeuvre the plebiscite showed the growth of the opposition forces. When preparing for the plebiscite the government organised repressive measures against the working-class movement.

On April 24, 1870, the Paris Federation of the International and the Paris Federal Chamber of Working Men's Societies issued a manifesto exposing the Bonapartist manoeuvre and calling on the workers to abstain from voting. On the eve of the plebiscite, the Paris Federation members were arrested on a framed-up charge of conspiring to assassinate Napoleon III. The trial, held from June 22 to July 5, 1870, fully revealed the false nature of the charge. However, some members of the International in France were sentenced by the Bonapartist court to terms of imprisonment merely for being members of the International Working Men's Association.

The persecution of the International in France evoked mass protests by the working class. p. 324

346 The coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte on December 2, 1851, gave birth to the regime of the Second Empire. p. 324

347 See Note 123. p. 324

348 *La Marseillaise*—French Left-republican daily published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; it printed material on the activities of the International and on the working-class movement. p. 325

349 The reference is to the *Society of December 10* (called so in honour of Louis Bonaparte, the Society's patron, who on December 10, 1848 was elected President of the French Republic)—a secret Bonapartist society founded in 1849 mainly from declassed elements, political adventurists, militarists, etc. Though the Society was formally dissolved in November 1850, its members continued to conduct their Bonapartist propaganda and were instrumental in effecting the coup d'état of December 2, 1851. A detailed description of the Society of December 10 can be found in Marx's work "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (see Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow 1962 pp. 243-344). p. 325

[350] *The Battle of Sadowa* (Königgrätz) took place in Bohemia on July 3, 1866 between the armies of Austria and Saxony and that of Prussia; it decided the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 in favour of Prussia. p. 326

[351] Mass workers' meetings—at Brunswick on July 16 and at Chemnitz on July 17, 1870—were called by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers) to protest against the policy of conquest pursued by the ruling classes.

Marx quotes the resolution of the Brunswick meeting according to *Der Volksstaat* No. 58, July 20, 1870. p. 327

[352] See Note 35.

Only that part of the letter by Marx and Engels has been preserved which was reproduced in the manifesto. The copy of the leaflet with the manifesto in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Moscow) has notes made on it in Engels's hand, which attest to the fact that Marx and Engels worked on this document jointly. p. 330

[353] *Peace of Tilsit*—peace treaties concluded on July 7 and 9, 1807 between Napoleonic France and the members of the fourth anti-French coalition—Russia and Prussia, who were defeated in the war. The peace terms were extremely onerous for Prussia who was deprived of a considerable part of her territory (including lands to the west of the Elbe). This treaty of plunder, dictated by Napoleon I, gave rise to a strong discontent among Germany's population thereby preparing grounds for the liberation movement against Napoleon's rule that fully developed in 1813. p. 330

[354] *National-Liberals*—party of the German, mainly Prussian, bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 as a result of a split in the bourgeois party of Progressists. They gave up the demand for political domination by the bourgeoisie for the sake of the satisfaction of its material interests and made their primary task the unification of German states under Prussian leadership. Their policy reflected the German liberal bourgeoisie's capitulation to Bismarck.

*The German People's Party* originated in 1865 and consisted of democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie, and partly of the bourgeoisie, mainly of the southern German states. As distinct from the National-Liberals, the People's Party opposed Prussian leadership in Germany and was in favour of the so-called Great Germany which was to include both Prussia and Austria. This party pursued an anti-Prussian policy and put forward general democratic slogans, but at the same time it expressed the separatist aspirations

of some of the German states. It advocated the idea of a federal German state but opposed Germany's unification in the form of a single centralised democratic republic. p. 332

[355] This address—"*Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War*"—was written by Marx between September 6 and 9, 1870.

To draw up this document, Marx made use of the materials sent to him by Engels, which exposed the attempts made by the Prussian militarists, Junkers and bourgeoisie to justify their strivings for the annexation of French territories by military-strategic considerations. On September 11-13, the address was issued as a leaflet in English, the circulation amounting to 1,000 copies. At the close of September, a new edition appeared which included both the first and the second address. In this edition the misprints contained in the first edition were corrected and some editorial changes were introduced.

The German translation of the second address was made by Marx who added several sentences meant for the German workers and omitted some passages. This translation was published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 76, September 21, 1870, in *Der Vorbote* No. 10-11, October-November 1870, and as a leaflet in Geneva. In 1891, Engels published the second address in the German edition of *The Civil War in France*; the translation of the address for this edition was made by Louise Kautsky under Engels's supervision.

In French, the second address was published in *L'Internationale* (No. 93, October 23, 1870) and partially (the publication was not completed) in *L'Egalité* (No. 35, October 4, 1870).

In Russian, the second address first appeared in 1905 in the Russian pamphlet *The Civil War in France,* translated from the 1891 German edition, under Lenin's editorship. p. 333

[356] In 1618 the Electorate of Brandenburg united with the Dukedom of Prussia (East Prussia) which was formed early in the sixteenth century from the lands of the Teutonic Order and which was in feudal dependence on the *Rzecz Pospolita* (Polish Republic). The Elector of Brandenburg, as the Duke of Prussia, remained the vassal of Poland until 1657 when he took advantage of Poland's difficulties in the war with Sweden and wrested for himself the sovereign right to the Prussian lands. p. 335

[357] The reference is to the *Basle Peace Treaty* which was separately concluded by Prussia with the French Republic on April 5, 1795, and which started the collapse of the first anti-French coalition of the European states. p. 336

[358] See Note 98. p. 338

[359] This refers to the triumph of feudal reaction in Germany after the downfall of Napoleon's rule. p. 339

[360] See Note 35. p. 339

[361] The heroic insurrection of the Paris workers on June 23-26, 1848. p. 340

[362] The English workers campaigned for the recognition of the French Republic established on September 4, 1870, and for diplomatic support for it. p. 341

[363] An allusion to the active participation of the bourgeois-aristocratic England in creating a coalition of feudal-absolutist states which in 1792 started a war against revolutionary France (England entered the war in 1793), and also to the fact that the English Government was the first in Europe to recognise the Bonapartist regime in France established after the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte on December 2, 1851. p. 341

[364] This address was published in *L'Internationale* No. 103, on January 1, 1871, but without the last three paragraphs which were not meant for the press. Concerning the Sixth Congress of the Belgian Sections see Note 69. p. 343

[365] Engels, as the temporary Corresponding Secretary for Spain, wrote this letter in reply to the letter from the Spanish Federal Council dated December 14, 1870. p. 346

[366] *La Federacion*—Spanish workers' weekly, organ of the Barcelona Federation of the International; came out in Barcelona from 1869 to 1873 and was under the Bakuninist influence.

*La Solidaridad*—Spanish newspaper, organ of the Madrid sections of the International; appeared in Madrid from January 1870 to January 1871, when it was closed down by the government.

*El Obrero*—Spanish weekly newspaper published in Palma (Majorca) from 1870 to 1871. Banned by the government in January 1871, it continued to appear under the title *Revolucion social*. Only three issues of *Revolucion social* appeared because its editor was brought to trial for "lèse majesté". p. 346

[367] The reference is to the Argentine workers' paper *Anales de la Sociedad Tipografica Bonaerense* published in 1871-72. p. 348

[368] See Note 28. p. 349

[369] This letter includes the text (with insignificant changes in the German translation) of the General Council's statement, written by

Marx, to the editor of *The Times* and other newspapers dated March 21. The letter was published in German in *Der Volksstaat* No. 26, March 29, 1871, and in *Der Vorbote* No. 4, April 23, 1871; in French—in *L'Egalité* No. 6, March 31, 1871; in this publication the first two paragraphs were abridged. Apart from the newspapers of the International, this letter was printed in the newspaper *Zukunft*, March 26, 1871. p. 350

370 "*Hauptche*" (Chief leader)—the name given at the Cologne Communist League trial in 1852 by Stieber, a Prussian police officer, to the agent-provocateur Cherval. As an act of provocation, Stieber sought to attribute to Cherval the leading role in the League and to create the impression that Cherval was associated with Marx and the accused (see Marx's pamphlet *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*—Exposures on the Cologne Communist Trial). p. 350

371 The General Council decided to issue an address to the workers' societies in connection with the Antwerp cigar-makers' strike at its meeting on April 4, 1871 (see pp. 167-68 of the present volume). p. 353

372 See Note 170. p. 353

373 The resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris sections expelling Tolain from the International Association as a traitor to the working-class cause was published in *Révolution politique et sociale,* newspaper of one of the Paris sections, on April 16, 1871. In February 1871 Tolain was elected to the National Assembly as a representative of the Paris workers. After the establishment of the Paris Commune, Tolain remained in the Assembly of Versailles whose purpose was to suppress the revolution in Paris, and refused to meet the Commune's demand that the workers' deputies should break away with that reactionary assembly. Tolain's treacherous conduct marked an open transition of the Right-wing Proudhonists to the side of the counter-revolution.

Some corrections were made by Marx to the MS of the General Council's resolution expelling Tolain from the International, written by Engels. It was printed in English in *The Eastern Post* No. 135, April 29; in French, in *L'Internationale* No. 122, May 14; in German, in *Der Volksstaat* No. 42, May 24 and in *Der Vorbote* No. 7, July 1871. The last paragraph of the resolution in the MS was reproduced only in the text of the resolution published in *L'Internationale* over the signature of Engels as temporary Corresponding Secretary for Belgium. p. 355

374 See Note 225. p. 356

[375] The letter of Adolphe Simon Guiod to Susane was published in *Journal Officiel* No. 115, April 25, 1871.

*Journal Officiel*—an abridged name of the newspaper *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, the official organ of the Paris Commune, published from March 20 to May 24, 1871. It retained the name of the official newspaper of the French Republican government that had appeared from September 5, 1870 (during the Paris Commune the Thiers government published in Versailles a newspaper under the same name). On March 30, it came out as *Journal Officiel de la Commune de Paris.* p. 358

[376] On January 28, 1871, Bismarck and Favre, a representative of the Government of National Defence, signed the convention on the armistice and capitulation of Paris. p. 358

[377] This scornful nickname was given to the supporters of the capitulation of Paris during its siege in 1870-71. Subsequently, it was used in French to signify capitulators in general. p. 358

[378] The manifesto was published in the newspaper *Vengeur* No. 30, April 28, 1871. p. 358

[379] *L'Etendard*—French newspaper of a Bonapartist orientation; was published in Paris from 1866 to 1868. It was closed down following the exposure of the machinations by which the paper was financed. p. 359

[380] *Société Générale du Crédit Mobilier*—a big French bank formed in 1852. Its main source of profit was speculation in the securities of joint-stock companies founded by the bank. Crédit Mobilier was closely associated with the government circles of the Second Empire. In 1867 the society went bankrupt and was liquidated in 1871. Marx exposed the nature of this society in a series of articles published in *The New York Daily Tribune.* p. 360

[381] *L'Electeur libre*—weekly (daily from the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war) newspaper, organ of the Right-wing republicans; came out in Paris from 1868 to 1871; in 1870-71 it was associated with the Finance Ministry of the Government of National Defence. p. 360

[382] This refers to the anti-Legitimist and anti-clerical actions in Paris on February 14 and 15, 1831, which found response in the provinces. As a protest against the Legitimist demonstration during a requiem for the Duke de Berry the crowd destroyed the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois and the palace of Archbishop Quélen known for his sympathies towards the Legitimists. The Orleanist government, anxious to strike a blow at the Legitimist Party, which was hostile to it, took no measures to stop the crowd. Moreover, Thiers who

witnessed the destruction of the church and the palace persuaded the National Guards not to interfere.

In 1832, by orders of Thiers, Minister of the Interior at the time, the authorities arrested the Duchess de Berry, mother of Count Chambord, the Legitimists' pretender to the French throne. Later, she was put under strict surveillance and subjected to a humiliating medical examination so as to make her secret marriage public and compromise her politically. p. 361

[383] This refers to Thiers's infamous role in suppressing the insurrection of the Paris workers and petty bourgeoisie on April 13-14, 1834 against the regime of the July monarchy. (The insurrection was directed by the secret republican Society of the Rights of Man—*Société des droits de l'homme*.) During the brutal suppression of it, the militarists massacred the inhabitants of a house in the rue Transnonain. Thiers was the chief inspirer of the brutal repressive measures adopted against the democrats during the insurrection and after its suppression.

*September laws*—reactionary laws passed by the French Government in September 1835. They limited the activities of juries and introduced severe measures against the press. Periodicals had to provide bigger deposits, and imprisonment and big fines for printing material against property and the existing state system were introduced. p. 361

[384] In January 1841, Thiers introduced his scheme for erecting fortifications around Paris—a wall and some forts—into the Chamber of Deputies. Revolutionary and democratic circles realised that this scheme was a preliminary measure for putting down popular movements, advanced under cover of the need for strengthening the defence of Paris. They saw that Thiers's plan envisaged the erection of the strongest and most numerous forts near the workers' districts on the eastern and north-eastern sides of Paris. p. 361

[385] In January 1848, the Naples troops of Ferdinand II, later on nicknamed King Bomba for the brutal bombardment of Messina in the autumn of the same year, shelled Palermo in order to put down the popular rising; the rising served as a signal for a bourgeois revolution in the Italian states in 1848-49. p. 361

[386] See Note 79. p. 362

[387] This refers to the brutal suppression of the insurrection of the Paris proletariat, June 23-26, 1848, by the bourgeois Republican government. p. 362

[388] *The "Party of Order"* originated in 1848; a party of big conservative

bourgeoisie, it was a coalition of the two monarchist groups of France: the Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty) and the Orleanists (supporters of the Orleans dynasty); from 1849 until the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, it held a leading position in the Legislative Assembly of the Second Empire. Louis Bonaparte's clique made use of the failure of the anti-popular policy of the "Party of Order" to establish the Second Empire. p. 362

389 On July 15, 1840, Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Turkey signed a convention in London on rendering help to the Turkish Sultan against the Egyptian ruler Mohammed-Ali who was supported by France. Since the convention was concluded without France, there arose a threat of war between the latter and the coalition of European Powers. Louis Philippe, however, did not dare to wage a war and refused to help Muhammed-Ali. p. 363

390 Striving to reinforce the Versailles army for the suppression of revolutionary Paris, Thiers requested Bismarck to allow him to increase the number of his troops which, according to the preliminary peace treaty of February 26, 1871, was not to exceed 40,000 men. Having assured Bismarck that the troops would be used solely for the suppression of Paris, the Thiers government was permitted—in accordance with the Rouen convention of March 28, 1871—to increase the Versailles troops to 80,000 and later to 100,000. Under these agreements, the German command began hastily repatriating French prisoners of war, mainly from the army that had capitulated at Sedan and Metz. The Versailles government quartered these units in closed camps where they were trained in a spirit of hatred for the Paris Commune. p. 363

391 *Legitimists*—party of the supporters of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1792; it represented the interests of the big landed aristocracy and the high clergy. At the time of the Second Empire the Legitimist Party was not supported by the people and it adopted waiting tactics and published critical pamphlets. It became more active in 1871 when it joined the general counter-revolutionary crusade against the Paris Commune. p. 365

392 "*Chambre introuvable*" ("matchless chamber")—French Chamber of Deputies in 1815-16 (the first years of the Restoration period) composed of extreme reactionaries. p. 366

393 *The Assembly of "Rurals"* —nickname of the National Assembly of 1871, which was largely made up of reactionary monarchists: provincial landlords, officials, rentiers and merchants elected by rural districts. Hence its name: "Assembly of Rurals" or Landlord Chamber. p. 366

394 This refers to the demand for an indemnity put forward by Bismarck as a condition for the preliminary peace treaty. The treaty was signed in Versailles on February 26, 1871 by Thiers and Jules Favre, on the one hand, and by Bismarck and representatives of the southern German states, on the other. Under this treaty, France ceded to Germany Alsace and Eastern Lorraine and paid her an indemnity of 5,000 million francs; until the whole sum was paid, German troops continued to occupy part of the French territory. The final peace treaty was signed in Frankfort on May 10, 1871. p. 366

395 On March 10, 1871, the National Assembly passed a law on overdue bills; under this law, financial obligations concluded between August 13 and November 12, 1870, were to be paid off within seven months from the day they were signed; as for the payments on obligations concluded after November 12, no postponement was allowed. Thus, the law of March 10 did not actually postpone payments for a majority of debtors, which was a heavy blow to the workers and poorer sections of the population and led to the bankruptcy of many small industrialists and merchants. p. 367

396 *Décembriseur*—participant in the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851 and supporter of acts in the spirit of this coup. Vinoy took part in the coup by putting down, with the help of troops, attempts to stir a republican insurrection in one of the departments of France. p. 367

397 According to the newspapers, the internal loan, which the Thiers government wanted to float, gave Thiers and members of his government over 300 million francs "commission". As Thiers was later to acknowledge, the financial circles with whom he had negotiated the loan, demanded the speediest suppression of the revolution in Paris. On June 20, 1871, after the suppression of the Paris Commune by the Versaillists, the law on the loan was passed. p. 367

398 *Cayenne*—town in French Guiana in South America: penal settlement and place of exile. p. 369

399 *Le National*—French daily, published in Paris from 1830 to 1851, organ of the moderate bourgeois republicans. p. 371

400 See Note 125. p. 372

401 *Bretons*—Breton Mobile Guard which Trochu used as gendarmes to put down the revolutionary movement in Paris.

*Corsicans,* during the Second Empire, constituted a considerable part of the gendarme corps. p. 372

402 See Note 127. p. 372

[403] *Sommations* were made by the authorities to disperse demonstrations, meetings and other gatherings. Under the law of 1831, the demand was repeated three times accompanied by the beat of the drums and the sounds of trumpets, following which the authorities were entitled to resort to force.

*The Riot Act* was introduced in England in 1715 and prohibited "rebel gatherings" of more than 12 people. The authorities read a special warning and used force if the crowd did not disperse within an hour. p. 373

[404] On October 31 (see Note 125), when the members of the Government of National Defence were held up in the Hôtel de Ville, Flourens prevented them from being shot, as demanded by one of the insurrectionaries. p. 375

[405] Voltaire, *Candid*, Chapter 22. p. 375

[406] The quotation is from the Commune's address made on April 5, 1871 and published in *Journal Officiel* No. 96, April 6.

The above-mentioned decree on hostages adopted by the Commune on April 5, 1871 was printed in *Journal Officiel* on April 6. Under this decree, all persons charged with contacts with Versailles, when found guilty, were declared hostages. By this decree the Commune sought to prevent Communards from being shot by the Versaillists. p. 375

[407] Published in *Journal Officiel de la République Française* No. 80, March 21, 1871. p. 378

[408] *Investiture*—mediaeval act of transferring land by the feudal lord to his vassal or investing clergy with office. Under this system persons on the lower rungs of the hierarchic ladder were fully dependent on the higher feudals and clergy. p. 384

[409] *Kladderadatsch*—illustrated satirical weekly published in Berlin from 1848.

*Punch* (*Punch, or the London Charivari*)—English bourgeois-liberal humorous weekly published in London since 1841. p. 385

[410] The reference is to the Commune's decree of April 16, 1871, postponing payments on all debt obligations for three years and abolishing payment of interest on them. This decree greatly eased the financial position of the small bourgeoisie and was not advantageous to big capitalist creditors. p. 388

[411] On August 22, 1848, the Constituent Assembly rejected the bill on "amiable agreements" ("*concordats à l'amiable*") envisaging the postponement of payments for debtors who managed to prove that

they had become bankrupt owing to the depression in trade caused by the revolution. As a result of this, a considerable number of small bourgeois were utterly ruined and found themselves completely dependent on the creditors from among the big bourgeoisie. p. 388

412 *Frères ignorantins* (ignorant brothers)—nickname of a religious order, founded in Reims in 1680, whose members pledged themselves to educate the children of the poor. The pupils received mainly a religious education and very scanty knowledge in other spheres. In this context, this expression alludes to the low level and clerical character of primary education in bourgeois France. p. 388

413 This refers to the Paris *Alliance républicaine des Départements*—political association of petty-bourgeois representatives from the various departments of France; it called on the people to fight against the Versailles government and the monarchist National Assembly and to support the Commune in all the departments. p. 388

414 The reference seems to be made to the Commune's appeal "Aux travailleurs des campagnes" published in April-early May 1871 in the Commune's newspapers and also as a leaflet. p. 389

415 This refers to the law of April 27, 1825, passed by the reactionary government of Charles X, on the payment of an indemnity of nearly 1,000 million francs to the former émigrés for the landed estates confiscated from them during the French bourgeois revolution. A larger part of the indemnity went to the court aristocracy, to the big landowners. p. 389

416 This refers to the decree on the division of France into military districts which granted extensive rights to the commanders of the districts; the law giving the President of the Republic the right to appoint and remove mayors; the law on rural schoolteachers which put them under the surveillance of the prefects; the law on public education that increased influence of the clergy on the educational authorities. These laws are analysed by Karl Marx in his *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* p. 390

417 *The Vendôme column* was erected in 1806-10 in the Place Vendôme, Paris, to commemorate the victories of Napoleonic France. On May 16, 1871, the column was pulled down by decision of the Commune. p. 391

418 On May 5, 1871, the newspaper *Mot d'Ordre* published facts testifying to the crimes perpetrated in monasteries. In the Picpus nunnery (Faubourg Saint-Antoine), the Commune revealed cases of nuns incarcerated in cells for many years and found instruments

of torture; in the Church of Saint Laurent there was found a secret cemetery attesting to the murders that had been committed there. These facts were also made public in the pamphlet *Les Crimes des congrégations religieuses* issued by the Commune for anti-religious purposes. p. 393

[419] *Wilhelmshöhe* (near Kassel)—castle of the Prussian kings where Napoleon III, former Emperor of France, was held prisoner by the Prussians from September 5, 1870 to March 19, 1871. p. 393

[420] *Absentees*—big landlords who hardly ever visited their estates; here, the English landlords who lived on the profits obtained from Irish estates which were managed by land agents or leased to the middlemen who, in their turn, subleased them to small tenants at high rents. p. 394

[421] *Francs-fileurs* (literally: "free absconders")—nickname given to the Paris bourgeois who fled from the city during its siege. The name was all the more ironical since it rhymed with the expression "*francs-tireurs*" ("free sharpshooters")—French guerrillas who actively fought against the Prussians. p. 396

[422] *Coblenz*—a city in Germany; during the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century it was the centre where the landlord-monarchist émigrés made preparations for intervention against revolutionary France. Coblenz was the seat of the émigré government headed by the rabid reactionary de Calonne, former minister of Louis XVI, who was supported by feudal-absolutist states. p. 396

[423] This name was given by the Communards to the royalist-minded Versailles soldiers recruited in Brittany, by analogy with the counter-revolutionary royalist insurrectionaries in North-Western France during the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. p. 397

[424] Following the proletarian revolution in Paris which led to the establishment of the Commune, revolutionary mass actions took place in Lyons, Marseilles and several other towns of France. In Lyons, on March 22, the National Guards and workers seized the Hôtel de Ville. A delegation arrived from Paris; on March 26, a Commune was proclaimed in Lyons and a provisional committee was set up to prepare elections to the Commune. This committee, however, having at its disposal but a small military force and not adequately connected with the masses and the National Guard, had to resign. A new revolutionary action by the Lyons working people on April 30 was brutally crushed by troops and police.

In Marseilles, the insurgents seized the Hôtel de Ville and arrested the prefect. A committee of the department was set up which scheduled elections to the Commune for April 5. This revolution was suppressed on April 4 by the government troops which bombarded the city. p. 399

425 The reference is to Dufaure's activities, directed at strengthening the regime of the July monarchy, during the armed action of the *Société des Saisons* in May 1839, and to his role in the struggle against the opposition petty-bourgeois Montagne Party during the Second Republic in June 1849. p. 399

426 This refers to the following laws: (a) the law on the prosecution of crimes committed by the press which reinstituted provisions of former reactionary press laws (1819 and 1849); it envisaged severe punishment, including suppression of papers, for the publication of articles against the government as well as the reinstatement of the officials of the Second Empire who had been dismissed; (b) a special law on the return of the property confiscated by the Paris Commune and on the introduction of punishment for its confiscation as a criminal offence. p. 400

427 The law on the procedure of courts-martial submitted by Dufaure to the National Assembly cut down this procedure even more as compared with the 1857 Code. It confirmed the right of the commander of the army and the War Minister to use their own discretion in instituting court proceedings without preliminary investigation. Under this law, the case, including the examination of appeals, was to be considered and a sentence put into effect within 48 hours. p. 400

428 The treaty between England and France was concluded on January 23, 1860. Under this treaty France abandoned her prohibitory customs policy and replaced it by customs that would not exceed thirty per cent of the value of the goods. France would export most of her goods to England duty-free. The influx of English goods to France sharply increased competition in the home market, which caused dissatisfaction among French manufactures. p. 401

429 This refers to the reign of terror and bloody repressions in the period of the aggravated social and political struggle in Ancient Rome at the various stages of the crisis of the slave-owning Roman Republic in the first century B.C. p. 404

430 *Journal de Paris*—weekly newspaper of a monarchist-Orleanist orientation; published in Paris from 1867. p. 404

[431] These excerpts are from an article by Hervé, a French publicist, printed in *Journal de Paris* No. 138, May 31, 1871, where he quoted Tacitus's *History* (Book III, Chapter 83). p. 405

[432] In August 1814, during the war between Britain and the United States, the British troops seized Washington and burnt the Capitol, the White House and other public buildings.

In October 1860, during the colonial war waged by Britain and France against China, the British and French troops pillaged and then burnt the summer palace of the Chinese Emperor, a treasure-house of Chinese architecture and art. p. 406

[433] *Praetorians* (from Roman history)—privileged bodyguard of the Roman general or emperor; during the Roman Empire they always took part in internal strifes and frequently placed their own men on the throne. Later, the word became the symbol of the mercenary nature, brutalities and arbitrariness of the militarists. p. 408

[434] This is what Marx called—by analogy with the extremely reactionary "chambre introuvable" ("matchless chamber") of 1815-16 in France—the Assembly elected in January-February 1849 on the basis of the constitution issued directly by the Prussian king on December 5, 1848, the day of a reactionary coup d'état in Prussia. Under this constitution, the Assembly consisted of two chambers: the first was a privileged aristocratic "chamber of the gentry", and the second largely consisted of Junkers, bureaucrats and Right-wing bourgeois elements, its composition being determined by the two-stage elections in which only the so-called independent Prussians took part. Elected to the second chamber, Bismarck became one of the leaders of the extremely reactionary group. p. 409

[435] *The Evening Standard*—the evening issue of the *Standard*—was published in London from 1857 to 1905. p. 414

[436] See *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 289. p. 414

[437] This refers to the circular written by Marx—"L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et 'L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste'" (see *The General Council. 1868-1870*, pp. 299-301). p. 415

[438] See Note 238. p. 416

[439] Apart from *The Times*, this letter was published in English in *The Eastern Post* No. 142, June 17, 1871; in French, in *L'Internationale* No. 127, June 18, 1871, *La Liberté* No. 57, June 17, 1871, *L'Egalité* No. 11, June 27, 1871; in German, in *Der Volksstaat* No. 50, June 21, 1871; in Spanish, in *Emancipacion* No. 2, June 26, 1871. p. 417

[440] This letter was written by Marx in connection with the *Times* leading article of June 19 which contained slanderous attacks on the Paris Commune and the International and extolled Louis Bonaparte's "merits" in crushing the revolutionary working-class movement. The *Times* editorial board refused to publish this document. Engels made some editorial changes in the draft letter by Marx. p. 419

[441] See Note 272. p. 420

[442] See Note 236. p. 421

[443] This letter was written by Engels in accordance with a General Council decision of June 20, 1871; it was not published (see Note 238). p. 423

[444] When drawing up this document on behalf of the General Council, Marx made use of a letter by Reid, the Paris correspondent of the English newspaper *Daily Telegraph* (Section I), and the statement by Serraillier, a member of the Paris Commune and the General Council (Section II). On his return to England, Reid established contacts with Marx and the General Council in order to jointly defend the Paris Commune. On July 11, this address was published for the first time in London as a leaflet. Having received it, the New York Central Committee of the International's sections managed to get it published in the *Sun*, a popular bourgeois paper in New York, on August 1, 1871. The *Sun* provided it with a preface, written by Sorge and the other members of the Committee, where they explained the significance of the Commune; Washburne was described by them as a representative of a large family of parasites living upon the labour of society. The New York Committee called upon the workers not to believe the information spread by the mercenary bourgeois newspapers.

The address "Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris" was also published in the American papers *The Workingman's Advocate*, August 5, 1871, *National Standard*, September 9, 1871, and in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* No. 20/12, September 30, 1871; in German, it was published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 60, July 26, 1871; in French, in *La Liberté* No. 88, July 19, 1871; in Spanish, in *Emancipacion* No. 14, September 18, 1871. p. 426

[445] *The New York Herald*—American daily, organ of the Republican Party; published in New York from 1835 to 1924. p. 426

[446] What is meant here is Washburne's actual refusal to influence the Thiers government and persuade it into accepting the Commune's offer to exchange Archbishop Darboy, arrested together with others by the Commune in reply to the shootings of the Communards, for Blanqui who was thrown by the Versaillists into prison (see p. 408

of the present volume). To put an end to the Versaillists' terror, the Commune was compelled to execute the archbishop, and Washburne made use of this fact to vilify, in his speeches and lectures, the Commune. p. 428

[447] The decision to address the Belgian workers about the engineers' strike in Newcastle was adopted by the General Council on August 8, 1871 (see p. 255 of the present volume). p. 431

[448] See Note 274. p. 432

[449] Then comes the following postscript:

"I am going to write myself to Antwerp, Charleroi, Liège, Ghent and Verviers, but I would be much obliged if you would write and do absolutely everything necessary to prevent this affair.

"Please send me a copy of the newspaper *L'Internationale* (You know you are supposed to send it always to your correspondent).

"My address: 8, Gower Place, Euston Square, W. C., London."

The Belgian Federal Council published the address to the Belgian workers (concerning the engineers' strike in Newcastle) on August 20, 1871, in *L'Internationale* No. 136; referring to the General Council's information, it called upon the workers to frustrate the employers' plans to import strikebreakers. p. 433

[450] See Note 316. p. 434

[451] See Note 308. p. 435

[452] "Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu du IVe Congrès International tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869", Bruxelles, 1869, p. 172. p. 435

[453] "Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864", London [1867], p. 5. p. 435

[454] See Note 453. p. 436

[455] "Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864", p. 7. p. 436

[456] See Note 327. p. 440

[457] See Note 314. p. 440

[458] Resolution II—"*Designations of National Councils, etc.*"—was moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council and adopted on September 18, 1871, at the second session of the London Conference. Point 1 of the resolution, with some amendments, was included in the Administrative Regulations as the 1st article of Section II; points 2-4 became articles 2-4 of Section V (see pp. 457 and 460 of the present volume). The resolution was directed against the

separatist attempts of the petty-bourgeois elements (Right-wing Proudhonists who called themselves Mutualists, i.e., who advocated solving the social problem by means of mutual assistance; Bakuninists claiming to be advocates of collectivism; Positivists, followers of the bourgeois philosopher Auguste Comte, etc.) to impose their sectarian principles on the local organisations in opposition to the General Rules of the International and to reflect this in the names of the local sections. p. 440

[459] See Note 321. p. 441

[460] This resolution was moved by Frankel who spoke on behalf of the commission elected to work out measures for a more regular influx of contributions, and was adopted at the sixth session of the London Conference, on September 20. When the Conference was being prepared, Marx raised the question of contributions at a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council held on September 9, 1871. This resolution, with some changes, was included in the Administrative Regulations as Section III (see pp. 458-59 of the present volume). p. 441

[461] See Note 320. p. 442

[462] See Note 320. p. 442

[463] The reference is to the text of the Rules of the International Association published by the General Council in London in 1867, which reflected the changes introduced into the Rules at the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses. In the Provisional Rules printed in 1864 this article—without the last sentence added later—is marked "6" (see *The General Council. 1864-1866,* p. 290).

The above-mentioned resolution of the Geneva Congress of the Association (its text is included in Section VI of the Administrative Regulations—see pp. 461-62 of the present volume) is based on Section 2 (*c*) of Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (see *The General Council. 1864-1866,* p. 341). p. 442

[464] See Note 324. p. 443

[465] See Note 322. p. 443

[466] The Conference instructed the General Council to draw up this resolution (IX)—"*Political Action of the Working Class*". For this purpose the Council formed a committee on October 7, 1871, of which Engels became a member (see Note 306).

On October 16, 1871, the General Council endorsed Engels's report on the subject.

By decision of the Hague Congress of 1872, the General Rules of the International Association included Article 7a which reproduced the main part of Resolution IX of the London Conference. p. 444

[467] See *The General Council. 1864-1866.* p. 286. p. 444

[468] "Procès-verbaux du congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 septembre 1867". Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867, p. 19. p. 444

[469] See *The General Council. 1868-1870*, pp. 231-32. p. 444

[470] Resolution X was moved by Marx on behalf of the General Council on September 22, 1871, at the ninth session of the London Conference. To substantiate this resolution, Marx made a speech on secret societies. p. 445

[471] See Note 317. p. 445

[472] "*Resolution Relating to England*" (XII) was proposed by Marx on September 22, 1871, at the eighth session of the London Conference. When speaking on the resolution, Marx said that previously the General Council had opposed the formation of the Federal Committee or Council for England because the English workers were represented on the General Council, which promoted their education in the spirit of internationalism and socialist proletarian teaching and prevented the bourgeoisie from taking over the leadership of the English working-class movement. However, as Marx pointed out, the large scale of work by the General Council, following the establishment of the Paris Commune, necessitated the formation of a Federal Council in England too (see also Note 310). p. 446

[473] See Note 319. p. 446

[474] This resolution was moved by Vaillant and adopted on September 22, 1871, at the ninth session of the London Conference following Utin's communication about the Nechayev trial; Marx proposed that the report about the Nechayev trial should be submitted to the General Council. p. 447

[475] See Note 323. p. 447

[476] See Note 326. p. 447

[477] See Note 452. p. 448

[478] Resolution XVII—"*Split in the French-Speaking Part of Switzerland*"—was proposed by Marx on September 21, 1871, at the seventh session of the London Conference. In the separate edition of the

London Conference resolutions, this resolution was given in an abridged form. In full it was published in *L'Egalité* No. 20, October 21, 1871. p. 448

[479] See Note 18. p. 448

[480] See Note 302. p. 451

[481] See *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 289. p. 465

[482] See *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 289. p. 465

[483] See Note 272. p. 465

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*Avoine,* father—French worker, moulder; participant in the Paris Commune; after its defeat emigrated to England—241, 252.

*Avrial, Augustin* (1840-1904)—French worker, mechanic; participant in the French working-class movement; Left-wing Proudhonist; organiser of the mechanics' union, member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International (1870); member of the Paris Commune, of the Labour and Exchange Commission, and of the Executive and the War Commission of the Commune; after the Commune's defeat emigrated to England where he was, for some time, a member of the French Section of 1871 that came out against the General Council—274, 284, 287, 290.

## B

*Bachruch, Henri*—Hungarian worker; Secretary of the German section in Paris (1870) and member of the Paris Federal Council of the International; during the winter of 1870-71 lived in Hungary; in the summer of 1871 returned to Paris—241, 246.

*Badin (or Boudin)* (b. 1853)—Frenchman; member of the International; participant in the Paris Commune, a refugee in London—241.

*Bakunin, Mikhail* (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary and publicist, participant in the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; Narodnik, one of the ideologists of anarchism; behaved within the International as a rabid enemy of Marxism; at the Hague Congress (1872) was expelled from the International for his splitting activities—29, 50, 68.

*Banks*—240.

*Barry, Maltman* (1842-1909)—British journalist, socialist, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists and the British reformist trade union leaders; after the International ceased its activities, he continued taking part in the British socialist movement but, at the same time, contributed to the Conservative newspaper *The Standard*; in the 1890s joined the so-called socialist wing of the Conservatives—231.

*Bastelica, André* (1845-1884)—French worker, printer; active in the French working-class movement; Bakuninist; took part in the revolutionary actions in Marseilles in October and November 1870; participant in the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference of 1871; later, left the working-class movement—159, 257, 260, 263, 266, 269, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 283, 284, 285, 287, 290, 296, 297, 304.

*Baudry*—Frenchman, participant in the Paris Commune, an émigré in London—215, 220.

*Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the international and German working-class movement; turner by trade; from 1867, President of the League of German Workers' Unions, member of the International; from 1867, deputy to the Reichstag; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; fought Lassalleanism; took a proletarian, internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian war; came out in support of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels—32, 39, 103, 119, 150, 159, 168, 344, 347.

*Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—English historian and politician, bourgeois radical, positivist philosopher, professor at the University of London; presided at the Inaugural Meeting of the International on September 28, 1864; took an active part in the 1867 reform movement; in 1870-71, one of the leaders of the campaign for the recognition of the French Republic by the British Government; defended the Paris Commune in the English press; was on friendly terms with Marx—36, 103, 113, 188, 419.

*Belliston, John*—British photographer; member of the International; member of the Universal Republican League and the Universal Federalist Council—231, 234.

*Bennett, George*—reformist, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), delegate to the Nottingham congress of British sections (1872); after the Hague Congress of the Inter-

national joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council—234, 252.

*Bergeret, Jules Victor* (1839-1905)—member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune, general of the National Guard; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to England and later to the U.S.A.—373.

*Bernstorff, Albrecht,* Count (1808-1873)—Prussian diplomat, Ambassador in London (1862-73)—132.

*Berry, Marie Caroline Ferdinande Louise,* Duchess (1798-1870)—mother of Count Chambord, pretender to the throne from the Legitimists; in 1832 attempted to stir a revolt in Vendée with a view to overthrowing Louis Philippe—361.

*Beslay, Charles* (1795-1878)—French *entrepreneur*; Proudhonist; member of the International and the Paris Commune; as delegate to the Bank of France conducted the policy of rejecting its nationalisation; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland and later to England—141, 364.

*Biff*—230.

*Bigot, Léon* (1826-1872) French lawyer and journalist, Left-wing Republican; after the suppression of the Commune defended the Communards in the Versailles court martial—232.

*Bishop, H. G.*—atheist, participant in the British Republican movement; member of the General Council of the International (1871)—257, 259, 266.

*Bismarck, Otto, von Schönhausen,* Prince (1815-1898)—statesman and diplomat, Prussian Junker; Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71), Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means; bitter enemy of the working-class movement; author of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878)—79, 90, 115, 127, 131, 132, 135, 136, 171, 200-01, 211, 326, 338, 358, 360-363, 365, 367, 368, 385, 393, 397, 401, 402, 409, 415, 418.

*Blair, J. Talfourd*—Scotchman; Secretary of the International's section in Glasgow (1872), member of the British Federal Council—204, 214, 215, 285.

*Blanc, Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; in 1848, member of the Provisional Government and the President of the Luxembourg Commission; advocated agreement with the bourgeoisie; in August 1848 emigrated to England, one of the émigré petty-bourgeois leaders in London; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); came out against the Paris Commune—106, 107, 207, 251.

*Blanchet, Stanislas* (real name—*Pourille*) (b. 1833) former monk, police agent; during the siege of Paris served in the National Guard, was elected

member of the Paris Commune; in May 1871 was exposed and arrested—393.

*Blanqui, Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist, organised several secret societies and plots; took an active part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; outstanding leader of the working-class movement in France; at the time of the Paris Commune was in prison—140, 141, 367, 371, 408.

*Bolte, Friedrich*—German worker, cigar-maker; active in the American labour movement; Secretary of the Federal Council of the North-American sections of the International (1872); member of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* editorial board; member of the General Council (1872-74) elected at the Hague Congress—81.

*Bonaparte, Louis.* See *Napoleon III.*

*Boon, Martin James*—British worker, mechanic; active in the British working-class movement, follower of O'Brien's social-reform views, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Secretary of the Land and Labour League, member of the Labour Representation League, member of the British Federal Council (1872)—31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 47, 48, 49, 55, 57, 59, 60, 64, 67, 71, 73, 76, 94, 97, 98, 99, 110, 117, 118, 125, 126, 133, 137, 145, 150, 151, 156, 163, 166, 182, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 216, 217, 220, 221, 222, 225, 226, 234, 236, 237, 240, 241, 245, 246, 249, 250, 252, 256, 257, 259, 260, 263, 266, 268, 269, 272, 273, 274, 276, 278, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 300, 302, 305, 306, 307, 308, 328, 341, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Bora, Giovanni*—member of the Italian section in Geneva; while in London, member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1870-71)—29, 31, 35, 37, 43, 329, 342.

*Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German journalist, democrat; participant in the Baden uprising of 1849, after its defeat left Germany; businessman in London (from 1851); was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels—37.

*Bossens*—241.

*Bradlaugh, Charles* (1833-1891)—British journalist and politician, bourgeois radical, atheist, editor of the weekly *National Reformer*; after the Paris Commune sharply attacked Marx and the International Working Men's Association—80, 164, 240.

*Bradnick, Frederick*—English worker, elastic web-weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1870-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871; following the Hague Congress (1872) joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council and opposed the Hague Congress

decisions; expelled from the International by the General Council decision of May 30, 1873.—60, 66, 98, 169, 171, 174, 175, 176, 186, 189, 192, 193, 194, 196, 198, 203, 204, 207, 208, 216, 217, 221, 231, 234, 236, 237, 240, 246, 252, 272, 273, 274, 290, 293, 300, 307, 328, 341, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Brenilly* (or *Brindly*)—192.

*Briner*—221.

*Brismée, Désiré* (1823-1888)—Belgian worker, printer; took part in the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; Proudhonist; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal (General) Council from 1869 on; delegate to the Brussels (1868), Vice-President of the Basle (1869), and delegate to the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; joined the Bakuninists; subsequently, dissociated himself from the anarchists; member of the Belgian Workers' Party—215.

*Broadhead, William* (1815-1879)—prominent British trade unionist, Secretary of the Saw Grinders' Union—113.

*Bruce, Henry Austen* (1815-1895)—British statesman, Liberal, Home Minister (1868-73)—67, 132, 233.

*Brunel, Antoine Magloire* (b. 1830)—French officer, follower of Blanqui; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; in May 1871 was heavily wounded by the Versaillists; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England—143, 414.

*Burnett, John* (1847-after 1893)—English worker, mechanic; publicist; President of the Nine Hours' League; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers, from 1874 on—252.

*Butler, Benjamin Franklin* (1818-1893)—American politician, belonged to the Left wing of the Republican Party; general, during the American Civil War commanded the expeditionary army taking New Orleans—154.

*Buttery, G. H.*—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72)—189, 193, 198, 216, 217, 231, 232, 233, 234, 237, 246, 250, 252, 254, 257, 259, 260, 263, 266, 300, 411, 430, 449, 468.

## C

*Cabet, Etienne* (1788-1856)—French publicist, prominent representative of peaceful utopian communism, author of *Voyage en Icarie*—210, 211, 415, 417.

*Cadiot* (or *Cadrot*)—participant in the Paris Commune—205, 208, 215, 220.

*Cafiero, Carlo* (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, member of the International; in 1871 corresponded with Engels, pur-

sued the General Council's line in Italy; in 1872 became one of the leaders of the Italian anarchist organisations; late in the 1870s abandoned anarchism; in 1879 published the brief exposition of Marx's *Capital* in Italian—227, 258.

*Caihil, Edward*—member of the General Council of the International (1870-71)—47, 67, 98, 99, 341, 411, 430.

*Calonne, Charles Alexandre de* (1734-1802)—French statesman, General Controller of Finance (1783-87); during the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century was one of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary émigrés.—396.

*Camélinat, Zéphyrin* (1840-1932)—French bronze-worker; prominent in the French working-class movement; one of the leaders of the Paris sections of the International; participant in the Paris Commune. Director of the Mint; after the Commune's defeat emigrated to England; on his return to France, took an active part in the French socialist movement; member of the French Communist Party (from 1920)—274, 284, 287, 290, 301.

*Caporusso, Stefano*—Italian worker, tailor; anarchist; one of the founders of the Neapolitan section of the International and its Chairman; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); in 1870 was expelled from the section for embezzlement—43, 258.

*Cardwell, Edward* (1813-1886)—English statesman, Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1852-55); Secretary for Ireland (1859-61), Secretary for the Colonies (1864-66) and Secretary for War (1868-74)—132.

*Carrot*—231.

*Carter, James*—British worker, perfumer; active in the working-class movement, member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-67) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1866-67); participant in the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International—74.

*Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio* (1832-1899)—Spanish politician, historian and author; was sentenced to death in his absence for participation in the 1866 rising, fled abroad; after the 1868 revolution returned to Spain; in 1869 was elected to the Constituent Cortes, one of the leaders of the Republican opposition; as head of government (September 1873-January 1874) paved the way for the restoration of monarchy in Spain, leader of the Right-wing Republicans—48, 170.

*Catherine II* (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96)—116.

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician, moderate bourgeois Republican; in the 1830s and 1840s, took part in the con-

quest of Algeria; War Minister (May-June 1848), severely suppressed the June insurrection of the Paris workers, head of executive power (June-December 1848)—408.

*Chalain, Louis Denis* (b. 1845)—French worker, turner; Proudhonist; active in the French working-class movement; participant in the Paris Commune, member of the Commission of Public Safety and of the Labour and Exchange Commission; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to England, member of the General Council (September-November 1871); for some time was a member of the French Section of 1871 which opposed the General Council, later joined the anarchists—140, 141, 260, 263, 266, 270, 274, 278, 280, 283.

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and bourgeois politician, monarchist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies during the Second Republic; after June 1848 commanded the garrison and the National Guard of Paris, took part in dispersing the demonstration of June 13, 1849; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 was arrested and deported; returned to France in 1859; during the Franco-Prussian war served in the Staff of the Rhein army, was taken prisoner at Metz; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—374.

*Chanzy, Antoine Alfred Eugène* (1823-1883)—French general; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 16th Corps and later on the 2nd Loire army; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—114.

*Chautard, B.*—French police agent who found his way into workers' organisations; member of the French Section of 1871 in London—241, 301.

*Chemalé, Félix Eugène* (born c. 1839)—French architect; Right-wing Proudhonist; delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International—205.

*Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers*, Earl (1800-1870)—English statesman, Whig, then Liberal; Viceroy of Ireland (1847-52), severely put down the Irish rebellion of 1848; Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66 and 1868-70)—65, 116, 154.

*Clément, Jean Baptiste* (1836(?)-1903)—French bronze-worker; Blanquist; participant in the Commune (member of the Commission of Public Works and of the Education Commission); after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; in 1874 signed the Blanquist manifesto of the "Revolutionary Commune"; after the amnesty of 1880 returned to France, entered the Workers' Party; after the latter's split joined the Possibilists and in 1890- the Allemanists 260.

*Cluseret, Gustav Paul* (1823-

1900)—French politician, follower of Garibaldi, took part in the American Civil War on the side of the North; member of the International, joined the Bakuninists; participated in the revolutionary risings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune, war delegate of the Commune (April 1871), after its defeat emigrated to Belgium and then to the U.S.A.—68.

*Cobbett, William* (1762-1835)—British politician and publicist; prominent petty-bourgeois radical; advocated democratisation of the British political system; in 1802 began publication of *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*—225.

*Coenen, Philippe*—Belgian worker, shoemaker; prominent in the Belgian working-class movement; secretary of the editorial office of the Antwerp newspaper *Werker*; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International at which he joined the anarchist minority; subsequently was one of the organisers of the Belgian Socialist Party—167.

*Coëtlogon, Louis Charles Emmanuel*, Comte de (1814-1886)—French official, Bonapartist, one of the organisers of the counter-revolutionary action in Paris on March 22, 1871—373.

*Cohn* (or *Cohen*), *James*—British worker, cigar-maker; active in the British and Danish working-class movement. President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers, member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International—47, 61, 64, 81, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106, 118, 121, 125, 128, 129, 134, 163, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 174, 178, 179, 182, 184, 186, 187, 189, 191, 209, 213, 216, 220, 234, 236, 238, 240, 245, 246, 247, 248, 252, 254, 255, 262, 286, 329, 342, 412, 430, 433.

*Collet, Joseph*—French journalist, Republican; a refugee in London, member of the National Reform League; editor of the *International Courier*; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67)—91.

*Combault, Amédée Benjamin* (born c. 1838-died after 1884)—French worker, jeweller; active in the French working-class movement; during his first period of emigration in London became a member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); later, took an active part in the work of the International in Paris; in 1870 founded one of the Paris sections of the International and became a member of the Paris Federal Council; participant in the Paris Commune, Chief of the Board of Direct Taxes—140, 141.

*Connor*—246.

*Constant.* See *Le Moussu.*

*Corbon, Claude Anthime* (1808-1891)—French Republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); after the fall of the Second Empire—mayor of one of the Paris arrondissements, deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—357.

*Cousin-Montauban, Charles Guillaume Marie Apollinaire Antoine,* Comte de *Palikao* (1796-1878)—French general, Bonapartist, War Minister and Head of Government (August-September 1870)—267.

*Coutin*—Bonapartist general—83-84.

*Cowley, Henry Richard Charles Wellesley,* Baron (1804-1884)—British diplomat, Ambassador in Paris (1852-67)—427.

*Cremer, William Randal* (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade union and bourgeois-pacifist movement, reformist; one of the founders and leaders of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, member of the London Trades Council, the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League and the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics, stroke a deal with the bourgeoisie during the reform movement; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; subsequently Liberal M. P. (1885-95 and 1900-08)—74, 102, 103.

## D

*Dagbert, L.*—Frenchman; participant in the Paris Commune, member of the International; emigrated to the U.S.A.—226, 231, 241, 246, 258.

*D'Albêca*—member of the Refugee Fund Committee in London—226.

*Darboy, Georges* (1813-1871)—Archbishop of Paris (from 1863), in May 1871 was shot by the Communards as a hostage—408, 428.

*Dassy, Giuseppe*—Vice-President of the Italian Labour Union, delegate to the Geneva Congress of the International (1866) from the workers' mutual aid society in Cerignola; General Council correspondent in Naples—44.

*Davies, John Llewellyn* (1826-1916)—British bishop, Liberal—225.

*Davoust*—Frenchman; participant in the Paris Commune, emigrated to the U.S.A.—241, 246.

*Dawling, John*—member of the Irish section of the International in New York—150.

*De Baufort, Raphael Ledos*—French refugee in London—226, 231, 235, 241, 246, 252.

*Delahaye, Pierre Louis* (b. 1820)—French worker, engineer; member of the International (from 1864), member of the Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871—235, 237, 240, 246, 250, 252, 255, 257, 260, 263, 266, 272, 275, 283, 288, 296, 300, 302, 303, 307, 411, 449, 468.

*Delescluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French politician and journalist, petty-bourgeois revolutionary, participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; member of the Paris Commune, military delegate of the Commune; was killed on the barricades during the street fighting in Paris in May 1871—143, 429.

*Denis, Pierre*—French Proudhonist, participant in the Paris Commune; journalist, contributor to the newspapers *Cri du Peuple* and *Vengeur*—258, 260.

*De Paepe, César* (1842-1890)—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class movement, socialist; printer, subsequently—physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International; member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; one of the founders of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885)—281.

*Derby, Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley*, Earl (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader, then one of the Conservative Party leaders; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68)—131.

*Dereure, Simon* (1838-1900)—active in the French and international working-class movement; shoemaker by trade; follower of Blanqui, member of the Paris section of the International; member of the *Marseillaise* editorial board; member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression left for the U.S.A.; delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the General Council elected by the Hague Congress; in 1882 joined the French Workers' Party—235.

*Desmarest*—French gendarme officer, killed Gustave Flourens—375.

*Desmoulins*—140.

*Devoy, John* (1842-1928)—active in the Fenian movement in Ireland in the 1860s, one of the leaders of the Land League (1880s); member of the Central Committee of the North-American sections, one

of the organisers of the Irish sections in the U.S.A.; subsequently, participant in the Irish national liberation movement—150.

*De Wolfers, Alfred*—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72)—226, 231, 235, 241, 252.

*Dilke, Charles Wentworth* (1843-1911)—British politician and writer, leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party, M.P., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1880-82), President of the Local Government Board (1882-85)—226.

*Dismans*—235.

*Disraeli, Benjamin*, Count *Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, leader of the Conservative Party in the latter part of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80)—116.

*Dixon, Thomas*—55.

*Dodson* (or *Dodshon*), *George*—British trade unionist, Secretary of the Society of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, member of the Executive Committee of the Labour Representation League and of the Free Trade League—36.

*Dollfus, Jean* (1800-1887)—big Alsace manufacturer, bourgeois philanthropist. Mayor of Mulhouse—32.

*Dombrowski* (*Dąbrowski*), *Jaroslaw* (1836-1871)—Polish revolutionary democrat, took part in the Polish national liberation movement of the 1860s; general of the Paris Commune, in early May 1871 became Commander-in-Chief of its Armed Forces, was killed in the barricades—240, 391.

*Dombrowska* (*Dąbrowska*), *Pelagia* (née *Piotrowska*) (1843-1909)—wife of Jaroslaw Dombrowski—240.

*Dombrowski* (*Dąbrowski*), *Teofil* (1841-1890)—Polish revolutionary; participant in the Paris Commune, commanded a detachment of Communards; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; brother of Jaroslaw Dombrowski—240.

*Doré*—153.

*Douay, Félix* (1816-1879)—French general, during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 7th Corps, was taken prisoner at Sedan; one of the hangers of the Paris Commune, commander of the 4th Corps of the Versailles army—403.

*Dronkel*—204.

*Dry, David*—British trade unionist, Secretary of the London Elastic Web-Weavers' Society (1870)—92, 101, 195.

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, a hangman of the Paris Commune; Minister for Public Works (1839-40), Home Minister (1848 and 1849), Minister of Justice (1871-73, 1875-

76 and 1877-79), Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876, 1877-79)—367, 374, 398, 399, 400.

*Dupanloup, Félix* (1802-1878)—French theologian and politician, one of the leaders of the Catholic Party, Archbishop of Orleans (from 1849), deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—160.

*Dupont, Eugène* (c. 1831-1881)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; French worker, musical instrument maker; took part in the 1848 June uprising in Paris; from 1862 lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-72), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71), participant in the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867—Chairman), Brussels (1868) congresses, the London Conference (1871) and the Hague (1872) Congress of the International; advocated Marx's line in the International; in 1870 moved to Manchester where he formed a branch of the International; in 1872 became a member of the British Federal Council of the International; in 1874 moved to the U.S.A.—30, 51, 55, 64, 82, 83, 90, 91, 127, 143, 153, 159, 168, 181, 207, 241, 248, 275, 328, 342, 412, 430, 449, 468.

*Durand, Gustave Paul Emile* (b. 1835)—French jeweller; after the defeat of the Paris Commune lived in London pretending to be a refugee, Secretary of the French Section of 1871; in October 1871 was exposed as a police spy and expelled from the International—252, 258, 260, 288, 289,

*Duval, Emile Victor* (1841-1871)—French worker, ironfounder; active in the French working-class movement, Blanquist; Secretary of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune, general of the Commune's National Guard; on April 4, 1871 was taken prisoner and shot by the Versaillists—181, 375.

## E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George)* (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, working-class publicist; tailor; an émigré in London; member of the League of the Just; later, of the Communist League; one of the leaders of the London German Workers' Educational Association; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; later on joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions—29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46,

47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 118, 124, 126, 129, 133, 137, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 152, 157, 162, 163, 166, 167, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 194, 200, 203, 204, 208, 210, 216, 221, 226, 243, 246, 248, 252, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 266, 267, 270, 272, 274, 278, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 296, 298, 300, 305, 306, 307, 308, 310, 313, 318, 320, 329, 342, 354, 412, 430, 433, 450, 469.

*Elliott, Thomas*—English trade unionist, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872); took part in the republican movement—215, 226, 236.

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—51, 66, 67, 73, 78, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109-110, 112, 117, 118, 125, 126, 133, 135, 137, 139, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 182, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 209, 210, 213, 215, 216, 220, 221, 222, 225, 226, 227, 228, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 249, 252, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 273, 274, 276. 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 307, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 319, 320, 331, 332, 345, 346, 349, 355, 360, 395, 412, 418, 422, 423, 425, 430, 450, 469.

*Espartero, Baldomero* (1793-1879)—Spanish soldier and statesman, leader of the Progressist Party, Regent of Spain (1841-43), Prime Minister (1854-56)—361.

F

*Favre, Jules* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician, one of the leaders of the moderate bourgeois Republicans; in 1848, General Secretary of the Home Ministry and then the Deputy Foreign Minister, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); as Foreign Minister (1870-71) conducted negotiations on the capitulation of Paris and peace with Germany, hangman of the Paris Commune—106, 107, 115, 132, 142, 144, 145, 171, 200, 210, 211, 212, 224, 225, 243, 251, 313, 324, 358, 359, 364, 367, 371, 393, 401, 414-16, 417, 418.

*Fawcett, Henry* (1833-1884)—British vulgar economist, follower of John Stuart Mill, Liberal M.P. (from 1865)—36.

*Ferdinand II* (1810-1859) (King Bomba)—361, 362.

*Ferry, Jules* (1832-1893)—French lawyer and politician, one of the leaders of the moderate bourgeois Republicans, mem-

ber of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1880-81, 1883-85)—360.

*Finlen, James*—prominent Chartist, member of the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association (1852-58)—207, 208.

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician and publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat, an editor of the newspaper *La Réforme*, member of the Provisional Government (1848)—106.

*Flourens, Gustave* (1838-1871)—French naturalist and revolutionary, follower of Blanqui, an organiser of the Paris risings on October 31, 1870 and January 22, 1871; member of the Paris Commune; in April 1871 was killed by the Versaillists—61, 181, 205, 230, 367, 371, 375.

*Fondewille, E.*—participant in the Paris Commune, an émigré in England, member of the International, delegate to the London Conference of 1871 from the Bordeaux section—246.

*Fonvielle, Wilfried de* (1828-1914)—French publicist, one of the editors of the Bonapartist newspaper *La Liberté*—163.

*Foster, Robert*—member of the International, Secretary of the British Federal Council (1871-72)—234, 258, 260.

*Fox, Peter (Peter Fox André)* (d. 1869)—journalist; active in the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; one of the leaders of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; one of the editors of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866), Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67)—71, 72, 74.

*Frankel, Leo* (1844-1896)—jeweller; prominent in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; member of the Paris Federal Council of the International and the Paris Commune, headed the Labour and Exchange Commission; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; one of the founders of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; delegate to several congresses of the Second International; associate of Marx and Engels—142, 260, 263, 267, 268, 272, 274, 276, 278, 281, 283, 286, 288-96, 298-300, 303, 307, 308, 391, 450, 468.

*Friedrich II* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86)—416.

G

*Galliffet, Gaston Alexandre Auguste, marquis de* (1830-1909)—French general, during the Franco-Prussian war commander of a cavalry regiment, was taken prisoner at Sedan; was released to fight the Commune, one of the hangmen of the Paris Commune; commanded the cavalry brigade in the Versailles army—375, 376, 413-14.

*Gambetta, Léon* (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois Republican, member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71), head of the Tours delegation; in 1871 founded the newspaper *République française*; Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister (1881-82)—83, 84, 123, 358.

*Ganesco, Grégori* (c. 1830-1877)—French journalist; born in Rumania; during the Second Empire—follower of Bonaparte and, later, supporter of the Thiers government—391.

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, leader of the Italian national liberation movement; took part in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of France, commanded the Vosges army; in the 1870s came out in defence of the Paris Commune; welcomed the establishment of sections of the International in Italy—91.

*Gaujean*—231.

*Genin*—226, 241.

*Giovacchini, P.*—412, 430.

*Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, then Peelite; in the latter half of the nineteenth century, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94)—65, 66, 67, 102, 122, 124, 129-32, 138.

*Glaser de Willebrord, E.*—active in the Belgian working-class movement, member of the Brussels section of the International; helped to publish the address *The Civil War in France* in Brussels—205, 241.

*Gorchakov, Alexander*, Prince (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Foreign Minister (1856-82)—87, 115, 338.

*Granville, George Leveson-Gower*, Earl (1815-1891)—English statesman, Whig; afterwards, one of the Liberal Party leaders; Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74 and 1880-85), President of the Privy Council (1852-54), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886)—132.

*Greffe*—231.

*Guichar*—231.

*Guillain*—252.

*Guillaume, James* (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to the Gene-

va (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; editor of the newspapers *Progrès*, *Solidarité* and *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*; at the Hague Congress was expelled from the International for his splitting activities; during the First World War, social-chauvinist—39, 118, 144.

*Guiod, Adolphe Simon* (b. 1805)—French general, participant in the Franco-Prussian war, Supreme Commander of the artillery during the siege of Paris in 1870-71—358.

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French bourgeois historian and statesman, from 1840 until the February Revolution of 1848 actually directed France's home and foreign policy expressing the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie—362.

*Gunning*—204.

H

*Hales, John* (b. 1839)—British worker, weaver; trade union leader; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, member of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; early in 1872 stood at the head of the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; waged a struggle against Marx and his followers with a view to taking over the leadership of the International's organisations in England; expelled from the International by the General Council decision of May 30, 1873—29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67; 71,72, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 86, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 126, 137, 144, 146, 149, 150, 151, 153, 156, 157, 162, 164, 166, 168, 175, 176, 177, 178, 186, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 224, 225, 226, 229, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 244, 245, 246, 248, 250, 252, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 307, 308, 313, 320, 328, 341, 412, 416, 418, 422, 425, 430, 450, 469.

*Hales, William*—member of the General Council of the International (1867, 1869-72)—29, 31, 43, 47, 60, 66, 98, 328, 341, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Handwerck*—89.

*Harney, John Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the British working-class movement, one of the leaders of the Chartist Left wing; editor of *The Northern Star*, the weekly *Red Republican*, and other Chartist periodicals; member

of the Communist League; in early 1850s became associated with the petty-bourgeois circles and temporarily departed from the revolutionary movement; an émigré in the U.S.A. (1862-88); member of the International; was associated with Marx and Engels—36.

*Harris, George*—active in the British working-class movement, follower of the Chartist Bronterre O'Brien; member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71)—31, 33-35, 37, 38, 39, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 78, 80, 81, 86, 89, 91, 92, 94, 96, 98, 101, 102, 104, 108, 109, 110, 112, 118, 125, 126, 127, 133, 137, 139, 144, 147, 148, 157, 162, 163, 165, 166, 169, 174, 175, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 191, 193, 194, 196, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 212, 216, 221, 222, 226, 229, 231, 232, 234, 237, 238, 240, 241, 246, 252, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267, 272, 273, 274, 282, 283, 285, 286, 290, 293, 294, 300, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 328, 341, 412, 430, 449, 468.

*Harrison, Frederick* (1831-1923)—English bourgeois radical, jurist and historian, Positivist; took an active part in the democratic movement of the 1860s and 1870s; member of the International; rendered assistance to the Commune's refugees—36.

*Haussmann, Georges Eugène* (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist, participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, prefect of the Seine Department (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris—392, 406, 407.

*Heckeren, George-Charles d'Anthès*, baron *de* (1812-1895)—French politician, Royalist, officer in the Russian army (1834-37), murderer of Alexander Pushkin (the great Russian writer); from 1848, Bonapartist, Senator of the Second Empire, an organiser of the counter-revolutionary action in Paris on March 22, 1871—373.

*Heinemann*—Prussian police agent in England; Editor-in-Chief of the weekly *Hermann* (from 1869)—80.

*Henderson, Edmund Newmans Wolcott* (1821-1896)—English officer, chief of the London police (1869-86)—206.

*Hennessy, Patrick* (d. after 1897)—took part in the Irish national liberation movement, follower of O'Connel; trade unionist, President of the Land and Labour League and member of the Sunday League—126.

*Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)- German Social-Democrat, an editor of *Der Volksstaat*; during the Franco-Prussia war adopted the position of proletarian internationalism; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); sub-

sequently became social-chauvinist—103, 168.

*Herbert, Auberon Edward William* (1838-1906)—British philosopher and publicist, member of the House of Commons (1870-74)—132.

*Herman, Alfred*—active in the Belgian working-class movement, one of the organisers of the International's sections in Belgium; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague (1872) Congress of the International; at the Hague Congress joined the anarchist minority—235, 236, 240, 246-49, 252-55, 257, 259, 260, 263, 266, 269, 272, 274, 278, 282, 284, 285, 287, 290, 296, 300, 304, 305, 307, 309, 310, 411, 433, 450, 468.

*Hervé, Edouard* (1835-1899)—French publicist, one of the founders and Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal de Paris*; bourgeois liberal, after the fall of the Second Empire—Orleanist—404, 405.

*Hins, Eugen* (1839-1923)—Belgian teacher, Proudhonist, subsequently Bakuninist; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International Association—96.

*Hinton, Richard Josiah*—English journalist, Chartist, emigrated to the U.S.A.; friend of John Brown and author of reminiscences of him; took part in the American Civil War; member of the International, helped to publish and distribute the American edition of the General Council's address *The Civil War in France*—242.

*Hohenzollern*—dynasty of Brandenburg Electors (1415-1701), of Prussian Kings (1701-1918) and of German emperors (1871-1918)—326, 392.

*Holyoake, George Jacob* (1817-1906)—British publicist; reformist; in the 1830s and 1840s joined the Owenites and Chartists; prominent figure in the co-operative movement—216, 219, 222, 223, 225, 421, 422, 425.

*Hossart*—428, 429.

*Hughes, Thomas* (1822-1896)—English lawyer and author; Liberal M.P. (1865-75), follower of Owen and Christian socialist; in the 1860s was close to the working-class movement, contributed to *The Workman's Advocate*; member of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Trade Unions (1867-69), chairman of the first co-operative congress in England (1869)—36, 191.

*Hume, Robert William*—American petty-bourgeois radical, journalist, one of the leaders of the National Labour Union, member of the International and the General Council's correspondent—36, 49, 55, 63, 87.

*Hurliman*—member of the

General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate of the Swiss Society in London 231, 234, 252, 257, 260, 272, 449, 468.

*Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—English biologist, close associate of Charles Darwin and populariser of his teachings; inconsistent materialist—36, 387.

J

*Jackson*—106.

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German publicist and politician, bourgeois democrat; in 1848, one of the Left-wing leaders in the Prussian National Assembly; founder of the newspaper *Zukunft* (1867); in 1872 joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party—64, 119, 151, 153.

*Jacquemet*—French bishop; in 1848, Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Paris—408.

*Jaubert, Hippolyte François, Count* (1798-1874)—French politician, monarchist, Minister of Public Works in Thiers's Cabinet (1840), deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—201, 410.

*Jessup, William J.*—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labour Union of the United States for the State of New York, one of the leaders of the Workers' Union of New York; General Council's correspondent in the U.S.A.—36, 146.

*Johannard, Jules Paul* (1843-1888)—French worker; one of the leaders of the French working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); in 1870 founded a section of the International at St. Denis; member of the Paris Commune, sided with the Blanquists; following the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872)—141, 296, 300, 301, 307, 308, 309, 449, 468.

*Johnson, John*—participant in the British democratic movement, member of the Universal Republican League; member of the International, took part in the campaign for the support of the Paris Commune—205, 207, 208.

*Joukowsky.* See *Zhukovsky, Nikolai.*

*Jung, Hermann* (1830-1901)—prominent in the international working-class movement; watchmaker; an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864-72), Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72), Vice-Chairman of the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) con-

gresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; after the Hague Congress of 1872 joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions—29, 30, 31, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 76, 98, 99, 106, 111, 112, 118, 126, 127, 133, 135, 136, 137, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 157, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 169, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 213, 215, 216, 217, 221, 226, 231, 232, 234, 236, 237, 240, 243, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251, 252, 257, 259, 260, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 283, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 295, 296, 301, 302, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 318, 320, 329, 342, 412, 430, 450, 469.

K

*Kavanagh, Samuel*—Irish by birth; participant in the American labour movement; member of the General Council elected by the Hague Congress (1872)—150.

*Kern, Auguste*—French bourgeois democrat; participant in the Commune, after its defeat emigrated to London—235, 246, 252.

*Koch*—246.

*Kolb* (probably *Kaub*) *Karl*—member of the General Council of the International—89, 92, 99, 100, 101, 118, 126, 137, 157, 163, 175, 182, 193, 203, 209, 216, 231, 411, 430.

*Kompański, Eugeniusz* (born c. 1845)—Polish pianist, participant in the Paris Commune—252.

L

*Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent in the French and international socialist movement, outstanding propagator of Marxism; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); one of the founders of the Workers' Party in France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels—79, 83, 181.

*Laffitte, Jacques* (1767-1844)—big French banker and politician, Orleanist, representative of the financial bourgeoisie, Prime Minister (1830-31)—361.

*Lagrange*—Chief of the Paris secret police—230.

*Lalor, Thomas*—member of the Irish section of the International in New York—150.

*Landeck, Bernard* (b. 1832)—French jeweller, Commune's delegate in Marseilles; member of the International and of the London French Section of 1871 which opposed the General Council of the International—317,

*Landrin, Emile* (b. 1841)—French worker, engraver; member of the International, participant in the Paris Commune—241.

*Lassassie, F.*—French hairdresser; an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International (1865-68); participant in the London Conference of 1865; member of the French branch in London where he advocated the General Council's policy; member of the International Democratic Association—173, 203.

*Lavrov, Pyotr* (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist and publicist, one of the ideologists of Narodism; in philosophy—eclectic; member of the International, participant in the Paris Commune, editor of the journal *Vperyod!* (Forward!) (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod!* (1875-76)—226, 231, 235.

*Law, Harriet* (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the democratic and atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (1867-72) and of the Manchester section of the International (1872)—468.

*Leblanc, Albert Marie Félix* (b. 1844)—French engineer; active in the French working class movement, joined the Bakuninists; participant in the Paris Commune; as the Commune's delegate in Lyons, tried to establish a commune there; following the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England, Bonapartist—226, 231, 235, 246.

*Lecomte, Claude Martin* (1817-1871)—French general, during the Franco-Prussian war commanded a brigade; on March 18, 1871 was shot by the insurgent soldiers after the failure of the Thiers government to seize the National Guard's artillery—161, 371, 372, 377, 399, 400, 402.

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French publicist and politician, one of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of the newspaper *Réforme*; member of the Provisional Government (1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies where he headed the Montagne party; following the demonstration of June 13, 1849 emigrated to England, where he lived until early 1870; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, resigned in protest against the conclusion of peace with Germany—106, 140.

*Leduc, Albert*—participant in the Paris Commune, a refugee in London—241, 246.

*Le Flô, Adolphe Emmanuel Charles* (1804-1887)—French general, politician and diplomat, monarchist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; War Minister in the Government of National Defence and the Thiers Ministry (1870-71), deputy to the National Assembly of 1871.

Ambassador in St. Petersburg (1848-49 and 1871-79)—372, 376.

*Légé*—French worker, engineer; participant in the Paris Commune, a refugee in London—226, 231, 235, 246, 260.

*Legreulier*—328.

*Le Lubez, Victor* (born c. 1834)—French émigré in London, was connected with bourgeois-republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65); participant in the London Conference of 1865; expelled from the General Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander—46, 74, 144, 145, 240.

*Le Maître, Frédéric*—French émigré, petty-bourgeois democrat, member of the French branch in London; owner of a small printshop in London—153.

*Le Moussu, Benjamin* (pseudonym—*Constant*)—French worker, engraver; active in the French working-class movement; member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-speaking sections in America (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists—241, 252, 258, 260, 271, 272, 275, 278, 281, 282, 283, 288, 289, 290, 291, 296, 299, 301, 305, 307, 450, 469.

*Leno, John Bredford* (b. 1826)—British worker, printer; Chartist, later trade unionist; member of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes and the Reform League; took part in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), participant in the London Conference (1865); publisher of *The Workman's Advocate*—118.

*Leroux*—258.

*Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French petty-bourgeois publicist, utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism—207.

*Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—prominent in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; from 1856, an émigré in London; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association and the General Council of the International (November 1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of

the International; member of the British Federal Council; actively fought for Marx's line in the International; one of the founders of the British Independent Labour Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels—29, 31, 43, 47, 49, 51, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 67, 73, 78, 79, 80, 81, 85, 89, 92, 94, 98, 100, 104, 108, 118, 126, 133, 137, 146, 150, 157, 163, 166, 169, 178, 182, 186, 193, 200, 203, 204, 209, 213, 216, 221, 226, 231, 233, 234, 236, 240, 246, 252, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263, 266, 268, 272, 274, 275, 276, 278, 283, 285, 286, 288, 290, 296, 299, 301, 306, 307, 308, 328, 341, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Lewis, George Cornewall* (1806-1863)—English statesman, Whig, Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1850-52); publisher and editor of the *Edinburgh Review* (1852-55), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1855-58), Home Secretary (1859-61) and War Secretary (1861-63)—154.

*Liebknecht, Natalie* (1835-1909)—wife of Wilhelm Liebknecht—108.

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; member of the Communist League; member of the International; active fighter against Lassalleanism and for the principles of the International in the German working-class movement; delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); from 1867, Reichstag deputy; a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76); during the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune came out against the predatory plans of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie in defence of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels—32, 39, 103, 119, 151, 153, 164, 168, 344, 347.

*Lintern, W.*—British worker, trade unionist; member of the General Council of the International (1870)—328.

*Lochner, Georg* (born c. 1824)—German worker, joiner; active in the German and international working-class movement; member of the Communist League and of the London German Workers' Educational Association; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-67 and 1871-72), delegate to the International's London conferences of 1865 and 1871; friend and follower of Marx and Engels—203, 231, 234, 235, 241, 246, 257, 263, 266, 272, 283, 290, 301, 411, 449, 468.

*Locke, John* (1632-1704) outstanding English dualist philosopher, sensualist; bourgeois economist—191, 192.

*Longuet, Charles* (1833-1903)—French journalist; one of the leaders of the French working-class movement, Proudhonist, member of the General Coun-

cil of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866), delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses, the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; took part in the defence of Paris (1870-71); member of the Paris Commune, after the suppression of the Paris Commune emigrated to England; subsequently joined the Possibilists—an opportunist trend in the socialist movement in France—140, 246, 252, 255, 257, 260, 262, 263, 265, 266, 275, 276, 278, 279, 280, 282, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 301, 303, 304, 307, 317, 318, 320, 449, 468.

*Lopatin, Hermann* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, disciple of N. G. Chernyshevsky, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870); translated into Russian a considerable part of Volume I of Marx's *Capital*; friend of Karl Marx—59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 73, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 98, 100, 119, 341.

*Louis Bonaparte.* See *Napoleon III.*

*Louis Napoleon.* See *Napoleon III.*

*Louis Philippe, duc d'Orléans* (1773-1850)—King of France (1830-48)—361, 362, 364, 371, 385, 399.

*Lowe, Robert* (1811-1892)—British statesman and publicist, Liberal M. P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73), Home Secretary (1873-74)—132.

*Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—British worker, furniture-maker; one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, member of the Labour Representation League; in 1871 came out against the Paris Commune and the General Council's address *The Civil War in France*, withdrew from the General Council—29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 43, 47, 49, 50, 55, 61, 63, 66, 73, 77, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 107, 108, 109, 110, 137, 163, 173, 200, 202, 203, 216, 217, 218, 222, 223, 224, 329, 342, 424-25.

*Ludlow, John Malcolm Forbes* (1821-1911)—one of the founders of Christian socialism in England, lawyer, publicist; active in the co-operative movement—36.

*Lumley*—232.

*Lyons, Richard Bickerton Pemell,* Earl (1817-1887)—British diplomat, Ambassador in Washington (1858-65), Ambassador in Constantinople (1865-67) and Paris (1867-87); in September 1870, mediator in

organising negotiations between Favre and Bismarck—427, 428.

M

*Mac Donnell, J. Patrick* (c. 1845-d. 1906)—active in the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; in 1872 emigrated to the U.S.A., took an active part in the American labour movement—220, 222, 226, 227, 231, 240, 246, 252, 260, 263, 272, 283, 285, 301, 307, 319, 411, 430, 450, 469.

*Mackenzie*—258.

*MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice* (1808-1893)—French reactionary marshal and politician, Bonapartist; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 1st Corps and then the Châlons army, taken prisoner at Sedan; one of the hangmen of the Paris Commune, Commander-in-Chief of the Versailles army; President of the Third Empire (1873-79)—403, 408.

*Mac Rae, R.*—English trade unionist, Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Congress in 1869—37.

*Malet, Edward Baldwin* (1837-1908)—British diplomat, Secretary of the Embassy in Paris (1867-71)—428.

*Maljournal* (born c. 1843)—officer of the National Guard; member of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard, Communard—374.

*Malmesbury, James Howard Harris,* Earl (1807-1889)—English statesman, prominent figure in the Conservative Party (late in the nineteenth century); Foreign Secretary (1852, 1858-59); Lord Privy Seal (1866-68, 1874-76)—66.

*Malon, Benoit* (1841-1893)—French worker, dyer; publicist, socialist, one of the leaders of the Paris sections of the International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, resigned his commission; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland where he joined the Bakuninists; subsequently, one of the leaders and ideologists of the Possibilists—an opportunist trend in the socialist movement of France 141, 142, 143, 146, 160, 308.

*Manteuffel, Edwin,* Baron (1809-1885)—German general, from 1873—General Field Marshal, Governor and Commander of the Prussian troops in Schleswig (1865-66); during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 1st Corps, then the 1st (from October 1870) and the Southern (from January 1871) army, Com-

mander-in-Chief of the German occupation forces in France (1871-73)—150.

*Markovsky*—agent of the tsarist government in France; in 1871, an official of Thiers—391.

*Marotte*—258.

*Marrotan*—260.

*Martin, Constant*—French revolutionary, Blanquist, Secretary of the C.C. of the 20 arrondissements of Paris during its seige, Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference of 1871—235, 241, 252, 271, 272, 275, 278, 280, 283, 288, 289, 290, 291, 293, 296, 299, 301, 305, 307, 309, 449, 468.

*Martin, Henry*—62.

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 117, 118, 126, 127, 128, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 171, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184, 188, 189, 194, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 209, 210, 212, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239 240, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 263, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 319, 320, 328, 329, 332, 342, 350, 352, 355, 412, 416, 418, 420, 421, 430, 434, 439, 449.

*Maurice, Frederick Denison* (1805-1872)—English bishop and publicist, one of the leaders of Christian socialism in England, Owenite, co-operator—191.

*Maurice, Zévy*—member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71)—99, 100, 328, 342, 412, 430, 449, 468.

*Mayo, Henry*—active in the English working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872) where he joined the Right wing, opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress of the International; expelled from the International by the General Council decision of May 30, 1873—203, 235, 259, 266, 268, 272, 278, 301, 307, 449, 468.

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat, one of the leaders of the Italian national liberation movement; active in the

1848-49 Revolution in Italy; when the International was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence; in 1871 opposed the Paris Commune and the International, stood in the way of developing an independent working-class movement—32, 206, 207, 227, 229, 230, 242, 243.

*Merriman, Josiah J.*—English jurist, member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-67); member of the Reform League—142, 144.

*Meyer, Siegfried* (c. 1840-1872)—active in the German and American working-class movements, socialist; engineer; member of the General Association of German Workers; fought against the Lassallean influence in the German working-class movement; in 1864 published in Germany, at his own expense, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; in 1866 emigrated to the U.S.A., member of the Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the U.S.A.; follower of Marx and Engels—108.

*Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—British bourgeois economist and positivist philosopher, advocate of the classical school in political economy; defended the right of the Communards for asylum—36, 38, 154.

*Miller, Joseph (Joe)* (1684-1738)—celebrated English comic actor—359.

*Millière, Jean Baptiste* (1817-1871)—French journalist, Left-wing Proudhonist; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, criticised the Thiers government and defended the Paris Commune, shot by the Versaillists in May 1871—206, 212, 359, 416, 418, 420.

*Mills, Charles*—member of the General Council of the International (1871)—234, 241, 246, 247, 411.

*Milner, George*—Irishman; tailor by trade; active participant in the British working-class movement, follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist O'Brien; member of the National Reform League and of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1868-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871; member of the British Federal Council (1872-73), fought the reformist wing in the Council—29, 31, 33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 73, 75, 76, 78, 80, 85, 86, 89, 92, 99, 100, 104, 108, 118, 123, 126, 128, 130, 133, 135, 136, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 157, 162, 163, 166, 169, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 182, 185, 186, 221, 226, 240, 245, 246, 250, 263, 264, 266, 269, 272, 273, 275, 276, 278, 282, 283, 287, 290, 292, 293, 295, 301, 306, 328, 342, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard* (1800-1891)—Prussian General-Fieldmarshal, reactionary

writer, one of the ideologists of Prussian militarism and chauvinism, Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the imperial (1871-88) General Staffs; during the Franco-Prussian war was actually the Commander-in-Chief—114, 129, 150.

*Montesquieu, Charles* (1689-1755)—outstanding French sociologist, economist and writer, representative of the bourgeois Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, theoretician of constitutional monarchy—384.

*Mooney, Thomas*—petty-bourgeois democrat, member of the International in England—235.

*Mottershead, Thomas G.* (c. 1825-1884)—English worker, weaver, member of the General Council (1869-72); Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); being a reformist, opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by the General Council decision of May 30, 1873—43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 61, 63, 99, 100, 163, 164, 166, 169, 170, 172, 174, 178, 181, 182, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 213, 216, 218, 220, 221, 222, 235, 236, 237, 239, 246, 250, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267-68, 269, 270, 272, 274, 275, 276, 277, 282, 286, 296, 298, 300, 301, 304, 305, 317, 318, 328, 342, 411, 430, 450, 468.

*Murat, André Pierre* (1833-1893)—French worker, mechanic; Right-wing Proudhonist; member of the Paris Committee of the International; delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; participant in the Commune—30, 139, 140, 143.

*Murray*—172.

*Murray, Charles*—English worker, shoemaker; active in the English working-class movement; Chartist; one of the National Reform League leaders; member of the General Council (1870-72) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73); follower of Marx and Engels; in the 1880s, active member of the Social-Democratic Federation—29, 31, 34, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 64, 99, 100, 328, 342, 411, 430, 449, 468.

## N

*Naas* (*Naze*)—French refugee in London—252.

*Nägeli*—203.

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815)—327, 330, 337, 363.

*Napoleon III* (*Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the

French (1852-70)—31, 32, 35, 57, 79, 82, 84, 88, 107, 115, 122, 124, 131, 160, 171, 251, 323, 325, 326, 333, 334, 338, 341, 349, 358, 362, 363, 369, 370, 372, 380, 385, 390, 392, 395, 400.

*Nechayev, Sergei* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary conspirator, participant in the student movement in St. Petersburg in 1868-69, founder of a revolutionary organisation in Moscow in 1869; an émigré in Switzerland (from 1869); in 1869-71 was closely connected with Bakunin; in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian Government, died in Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg—290, 298, 299, 434, 447.

*Netschajeff*. See *Nechayev Sergei*.

*Newman*—184.

*Nohay, Amédée Charles Henri* (1818-1879) (pseudonym *Cham*)—French designer, participant in the Paris Commune, a refugee in London—241.

O

*Odger, George* (1820-1877)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; shoemaker; took part in founding the London Trades Council and was its Secretary from 1862 to 1872; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League, and the Labour Representation League, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 came out against the Paris Commune and refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France*, left the Council—37, 38, 49, 74, 80, 99, 100, 106, 119, 128, 142, 144, 145, 164, 184, 185, 187, 188, 194, 197, 216, 217, 218, 222, 223, 224, 227, 238, 239, 250, 251, 252, 328, 342, 419, 425.

*O'Halloran*—Paris correspondent of *The World*—183.

*Oliver, Samuel*—member of the International Democratic Association and of the Universal Republican League—172, 173.

*Ollivier, Emile* (1825-1913)—French politician, moderate bourgeois Republican; from the late 1860s, follower of Bonaparte; Prime Minister (January-August 1870)—88, 118.

*O'Neil, Arthur*—English bishop from Birmingham, pacifist—67.

*Orleans*—French dynasty of kings (1830-48)—392.

*O'Sullivan, James*—member of the Irish section in New York—150.

*Otterbein, F.*—French refugee in London—231.

*Outine.* See *Utin, Nikolai.*

*Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—famous British utopian socialist—190-92.

*Owen, William*—prominent English trade unionist, one of the leaders of the Trades Council in the Potteries District; member of the Labour Representation League, editor of *Potteries Examiner*—86.

P

*Palikao,* See *Cousin-Montauban.*

*Palmerston, Henry John Temple,* Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory at the beginning of his career; from 1830 on, one of the Whig leaders relying on the Right-wing elements of that party, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65)—66, 131, 154, 225.

*Pape, Fletcher*—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872), belonged to the reformist wing; expelled from the International by the General Council decision of May 30, 1873—235, 240, 246, 252.

*Parnell, James*—English worker, elastic web-weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1869-70)—93, 97, 99, 195, 328, 342.

*Pascalis*—35.

*Péchard, Etienne.* See *Regis, Vitale.*

*Pène, Henri de* (1830-1888)—French journalist, monarchist, one of the organisers of the counter-revolutionary action in Paris on March 22, 1871—373.

*Périchon*—231.

*Perret, Henri*—Swiss worker, engraver; took an active part in the Swiss working-class movement; one of the International's leaders in Switzerland; member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868-69); General Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee 1868-73); member of the *Egalité* editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871); after the Hague Congress of the International (1872) adopted a conciliatory stand—111.

*Perron, Charles Eugène* (1837-1919)—prominent in the Swiss working-class movement; enamel painter, then cartographer; Bakuninist; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses of the International; member of the Central Bureau of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; an editor of *La Solidarité*, one of the leaders of the Jurassian Federation; subsequently left the working-class movement—50.

*Pfann*—Austrian worker, one of the organisers of the first co-

operative society of tailors in Vienna—35.

*Pfänder, Karl* (1818-1876)—one of the leaders of the German and international working-class movement; artist; an émigré in London (from 1845); member of the London German Workers' Educational Association, the Central Committee of the Communist League, and of the General Council of the International (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels—29, 49, 59, 61, 78, 79, 80, 81, 85, 86, 91, 92, 99, 100, 103, 104, 108, 110, 118, 126, 133, 137, 146, 150, 157, 163, 166, 169, 175, 178, 182, 186, 200, 204, 216, 221, 226, 283, 288, 294, 296, 307, 328, 342, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Philippe*—participant in the Paris Commune, a refugee in London—241, 258.

*Phillips, Wendell* (1811-1884)—prominent American public figure, politician, and orator; one of the leaders of the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement; President of the Anti-Slavery Society (1865-70); in the seventies, joined the working-class movement, advocated the formation of an independent workers' party in the U.S.A.; in 1871 became a member of the International, came out in defence of the Paris Commune—258.

*Phipson*—37.

*Piazza*—an officer of the National Guard, member of the Central Committee of the 20 arrondissements; participant in the Commune—143.

*Pic, Jules*—French journalist, Bonapartist, responsible publisher of the newspaper *L'Etendard*—359.

*Picard, Ernest* (1821-1877)—French lawyer and politician, moderate bourgeois Republican, Finance Minister in the Government of National Defence (1870-71), Home Minister in the Thiers government (1871), one of the hangmen of the Paris Commune—359, 360, 367, 375, 410.

*Picard, Eugène Arthur* (b. 1825)—French politician and stock-broker, moderate bourgeois Republican, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *L'Electeur libre*; brother of Ernest Picard—79, 360.

*Pietri, Joseph Marie* (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist, prefect of the Paris police (1866-70)—230, 325, 397.

*Pindy, Jean Louis* (1840-1917)—French worker, joiner; follower of Proudhon; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; organised a section of the International in Brest (September 1869); member of the Paris Federal Council; was involved in the third trial of the International in Paris (1870) and sentenced to imprisonment; member of the Paris Commune; after the Commune's defeat emigrated to

Switzerland and joined the Bakuninists—141.

*Pius IX* (1792-1878)—Pope of Rome (1846-78).—242.

*Pi y Margall, Fransisco* (1824-1901)—Spanish politician, leader of the Left Republican federalists, was under the influence of utopian socialist ideas; lawyer and man of letters; took part in the bourgeois revolutions in 1854-56 and 1868-74; Home Minister (February 13-June 11, 1873); President *pro tem.* (June 11-July 18, 1873) of the Republican Government—170.

*Plantade, L.*—member of the French branch in London, left it in August 1868, owner of a little restaurant and a boarding-house in London where many French refugees found shelter—202, 231, 235, 252.

*Plantade*—wife of L. Plantade—202.

*Pląskowski, Alexis* (born c. 1843)—participant in the Polish insurrection of 1863 and in the Paris Commune; an émigré in London—252.

*Pouyer-Quertier, Augustin Thomas* (1820-1891)—big French manufacturer and politician, Protectionist; Minister of Finance (1871-72); took part in peace negotiations with Germany in Frankfort (1871)—367, 401.

*Prenez, E.*—correspondent of the International in La Ciotat (France)—159.

*Protot, Eugène* (1839-1921)—French lawyer, physician and journalist; Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune, delegate to the Justice Commission; after the suppression of the Paris Commune emigrated to Switzerland, then to England: subsequently, opposed the International and the Marxists—182.

*Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French publicist, dramatist and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the revolution of 1848; from 1849, an émigré in Switzerland, Belgium and England; was against an independent working-class movement; for a number of years carried on a slanderous campaign against Marx and the International using for this end the French branch in London; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; editor of *Combat* and *Vengeur*; member of the Paris Commune, the Executive Commission, the Finance Commission, and of the Committee of Public Safety; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to England—32, 140, 153, 161, 181, 206, 208.

## R

*Ratazzi, Marc*—President of the London Committee in Aid of the Communal Exiles—240.

*Regis, Vitale* (pseudonym *Etienne Péchard*)—Italian revolutionary, member of the Italian section of the International in London, participant in the Paris Commune, mem-

ber of the General Council of the International (1871-72); took part in the revolutionary events in Spain in 1873—235, 241, 246, 252, 258, 260.

*Reid, Robert*—British democratic journalist, Paris correspondent of the British and American papers (1871), sympathised with the Commune—228, 229, 233, 247, 426, 429.

*Reitlinger*—friend and private secretary of Jules Favre—211, 415, 418.

*Reuter, Paul Julius* (1816-1899)—founder of Reuters News Agency in London (1851)—139.

*Richard*—French refugee in London—221, 225, 234, 235.

*Richards*—176.

*Rittinghausen, Moritz* (1814-1890)—German publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat; in 1848-49 contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; member of the Cologne Democratic Society and of the Cologne section of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; subsequently, member of the German Social-Democratic Party (until 1884)—281.

*Roach, John*—active in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), Corresponding Secretary of the British Federal Council (1872) where he belonged to the reformist wing, opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress—216, 221, 222, 226, 246, 252, 263, 283, 286, 307, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Robespierre, Maximilien* (1758-1794)—one of the great figures in the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the eighteenth century, Jacobin leader, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94)—90.

*Robin, Paul* (b. 1837)—French teacher, follower of Bakunin; one of the leaders of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (from 1869); member of the General Council (1870-October 1871); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871) of the International; in October 1871 was expelled from the General Council—60, 69, 79, 85, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 98, 99, 100, 104, 108, 110, 126, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152, 157, 163, 166, 175, 177, 182, 193, 200, 201, 203, 204, 209, 216, 231, 233, 235, 236, 237, 240, 243, 244, 245, 246, 252, 263, 264, 267, 275, 276, 278, 279, 282, 287, 294, 295, 301, 302, 303, 308.

*Robinet, Jean François Eugène* (1825-1899)—French physician and historian, Positivist, Republican; took part in the Revolution of 1848; mayor of an arrondissement in Paris during the latter's siege in 1870-71; member of the Ligue de l'Union républicaine pour

les droits de Paris; stood for conciliation between the Commune and Versailles—410.

*Robinson*—48.

*Rochat, Charles* (b. 1844)—active in the French working-class movement; member of the Paris Federal Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871—153, 176, 231, 233-37, 240, 246, 249, 250, 252, 260, 263, 267, 272, 275, 278, 279, 281, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 296, 307, 310, 411, 450, 469.

*Rosenburg*—235.

*Rosenthal*—241, 246.

*Rostain*—241.

*Roullier, Edouard*—French worker, shoemaker; Proudhonist; participant in the Revolution of 1848, member of the Paris section of the International; participant in the Paris Commune, Commune's delegate to the Ministry for Education; after the Commune's defeat emigrated to England, opposed the General Council of the International—241, 246.

*Rovart*—226, 231, 235.

*Rozalowski, Wlodzimierz* (1838-1876)—participant in the Polish insurrection of 1863 and in the Paris Commune, an émigré in London—226.

*Rüegg*—252.

*Rühl, J.*—German worker; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association; member of the General Council of the International (1870-72)—37, 73, 99, 100, 166, 221, 231, 240, 246, 252, 257, 267, 283, 296, 301, 307, 328, 342, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Rutson, A. O.*—private secretary to Bruce—British Home Minister—233.

S

*Sadler*—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72)—175, 176, 178, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Saint-Martin.* See *Martin, Constant.*

*Saisset, Jean* (1810-1879)—French admiral and politician, monarchist; during the seige of Paris (1870-71) directed the defence of the eastern forts; Commander of the Paris National Guard (March 20-25, 1871), failed in his attempts to unite the reactionary forces in Paris to crush the proletarian Revolution of March 18; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—374.

*Savio, Pietro*—participant in the Italian national liberation movement and in the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England—230.

*Scheffer*—soldier of the French National Guard, Communard—376.

*Scherzer, Andreas* (1807-1879)—German tailor, Lassallean, member of one of the Paris communes of the Communist League which, after a split in the League in 1850, belonged to the Willich-Schapper group; emigrated to England; at the close of 1871 was expelled from the London German Workers' Educational Association for slanderous attacks against the General Council and for splitting activities—226.

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German democrat, lawyer, participant in the Baden rising of 1849; later emigrated to France; member of the International in Paris; friend of Marx—151.

*Schmutz*—member of the General Council of the International (1870-71)—200, 241, 283, 328, 342.

*Schneider, Josef*—German worker, follower of Lassalle, a refugee in London (from 1871), member of the German Workers' Educational Association in London, at the close of 1871 was expelled from this association for splitting activities and slanderous attacks against the General Council—127.

*Scholl—French* worker, member of the Lyons section of the International, an émigré in London; in 1872 supported the Bonapartist plans for the restoration of the Empire—275, 281.

*Schulze-Delitzsch, Hermann* (1808-1883)—German politician and vulgar economist, advocated the unification of the Germany under the hegemony of Prussia; in the 1860s, one of the Progressist leaders; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies—150.

*Schweitzer, Johann Baptist* (1833-1875)—one of the prominent representatives of the Lassallean movement in Germany; editor of *Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany "from above", under Prussia's hegemony; prevented German workers from joining the International; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; in 1872 was expelled from the General Association because of his contacts with the Prussian authorities—79, 90.

*Serraillier, Auguste* (b. 1840)—took an active part in the French and world working-class movement; last-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1870) and France (1871-72); in September 1870, after the fall of the Second Empire, was sent to Paris as the General Council's representative; member of the Paris Commune, was on the Labour and Exchange Commission; delegate to the

London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); member of the British Federal Council (1873-74); associate of Marx—29, 31, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 57, 59, 61, 73, 100, 127, 137, 139, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 157, 158, 159, 161, 176, 181, 184, 187, 202, 226, 230, 231, 232, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 244, 245, 246, 249, 250, 252, 256, 259, 263, 264, 267, 268, 269, 271, 272, 275, 276, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 299, 300, 301, 302, 307, 308, 309, 318, 320, 329, 342, 345, 346, 350, 351, 411, 429, 439, 468.

*Serraillier, Eugène*—wife of Auguste Serraillier—184.

*Shepherd, Joseph*—member of the General Council of the International (1869-70)—328, 342.

*Shipton, George*—British trade unionist, reformist, member of the Land and Labour League, Secretary of the housepainters' union, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1871-96)—250.

*Simon, Jules* (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher, moderate bourgeois Republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the Government of National Defence, Minister of Public Education in that government and in Thiers's Government (1870-73), deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, an instigator of struggle against the Commune; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876-77)—367.

*Smith, J.*—English worker, Secretary of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Society, took part in the Nottingham Congress of Trade Unions (1872)—47.

*Smith, John*—Chartist, Secretary of a Whitechurch co-operative society (in the 1860s), member of the International—37.

*Sorge, Friedrich Adolf* (1828-1906)—prominent in the international and American labour and socialist movement; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; in 1852 emigrated to the U.S.A., organiser of American sections of the International, Secretary of the Federal Council; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74), active propagator of Marxism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels—36, 108, 146, 180.

*Spalding, D. A.*—169.

*Stainsby, William D.*—British trade unionist, tailor; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of the International held in St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864, member of the General Council (1864-68); member of the executive com-

mittees of the Reform League and the Labour Representation League—235.

*Stanley, Edward Henry*, Earl of *Derby* from 1869 on (1826-1893)—English statesman, Tory, in the 1860s-1870s became a Liberal; Secretary of State for Colonies (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1866-68, 1874-78)—154, 463.

*Stepney, William Frederick Cowell* (1820-1872)—English socialist, member of the Reform League and the League of Peace and Freedom, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1872)—29, 31, 35, 37, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94, 99, 100, 101, 104, 108, 110, 118, 126, 133, 137, 146, 150, 157, 160, 163, 169, 182, 203, 209, 267, 272, 275, 296, 301, 307, 328, 342, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Stokoe*—English worker, mechanic—252.

*Stoll*—member of the General Council of the International (1870)—31, 35, 37, 42, 43, 51, 328, 342.

*Sulla, Lucius Cornelius* (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, Consul (88 B.C.), Dictator (82-79 B.C.)—364, 404.

*Sumner, Charles* (1811-1874)—American politician, one of the leaders of the Republican Party's Left wing; Senator (from 1851), Chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs (1861-71); favoured revolutionary methods of struggle against the slave-owning South; following the victory of the North in the Civil War spoke in support of political rights for the Negroes; supporter of the International—87.

*Susane, Louis* (1810-1876)—French general; for many years was Chief of the Artillery Department in the War Ministry; author of works on the history of the French army—358.

## T

*Tacitus, Publius Cornelius* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian—404.

*Taillefer*—took part in machinations connected with the publication of the Bonapartist paper *Etendard*—359.

*Tamerlane*. See *Timur*.

*Tamisier, François Laurent Alphonse* (1809-1880)—French general and politician, Republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Empire; Commander of the Paris National Guard (Sep-

tember-November 1870); deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—372.

*Taylor*—member of the International Democratic Association—172.

*Taylor, Alfred*—British worker; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872)—216, 220, 221, 231, 236, 260, 272, 278, 282, 283, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Taylor, Peter Alfred* (1819-1891)—British politician, bourgeois radical, M.P.—36, 165, 226, 277.

*Teulière, E.*—participant in the Paris Commune, contributor to the Left-republican paper *Combat*; emigrated to London, member of the French Section of 1871—241.

*Theisz, Albert Félix* (1839-1880)—French worker, metal-cutter; active in the French working-class movement; Proudhonist; participant in the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International; member of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England, member of the General Council of the International (1872) and its Treasurer—140, 246, 252, 255, 257, 259, 260, 261, 265, 267, 268, 270, 274, 275, 276, 282, 283, 284, 285, 290, 301, 304, 308.

*Thiers, Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French bourgeois historian and statesman, Orleanist, Home Minister (1832, 1834), Prime Minister (1836, 1840); Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73); dealt brutally with the Paris Communards—190, 200, 202, 206, 250, 324, 356, 357, 360-70, 372, 374-76, 380, 381, 388, 391, 392, 395-408, 410, 427.

*Thomas, Clément* (1809-1871)—French politician, general, moderate bourgeois Republican; during the Second Republic—deputy to the Constituent Assembly; participant in the suppression of the Paris rising in June 1848; Commander of the Paris National Guard (November 1870-February 1871), sabotaged the city's defence; on March 18, 1871 was shot by the insurgent soldiers—162, 371, 372, 377, 399, 400, 402.

*Thompson*—252.

*Tibaldi, Paolo* (1825-1901)—Italian revolutionary, adherent of Garibaldi, member of the International, participant in the Paris Commune—226, 229, 230, 235, 241, 258.

*Timur (Tamerlane)* (1336-1405)—Central Asian general and conquerer—375.

*Tolain, Henri Louis* (1828-1897)—French worker, engraver; Right-wing Proudhonist; took part in the Inaugural Meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864; a leader of the Paris section; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866),

Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; deputy to the National Assembly (after September 4, 1870); during the Paris Commune went over to the Versaillists, was expelled from the International in 1871 by decision of the Paris Federal Council; subsequently, Senator —32, 139, 140, 143, 146, 176, 177, 205, 238, 355, 376, 419, 420.

*Tomanovskaya, Yelizaveta* (pseudonym *Yelizaveta—Eliza —Dmitriyeva*) (1851-c.1910)— —Russian revolutionary; from 1867 to 1873 was in emigration, took part in publishing the magazine *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause), member of the Russian section of the International in Geneva, supported Marx in his struggle against the Bakuninists; friend of Marx and of his family; took an active part in the Paris Commune; after the Commune's defeat left France; on her return to Russia, followed her husband in his exile in Siberia where she took part in the work of the illegal Red Cross Society helping political convicts and exiles—184.

*Townshend, William*—member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); in the 1880s participated in the British socialist movement— 29, 31, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 49, 51, 55, 56, 59, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 78, 80, 81, 85, 87, 92, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 110, 118, 146, 157, 163, 166, 169, 174, 178, 182, 186, 193, 200, 203, 204, 209, 213, 216, 221, 222, 226, 231, 234, 235, 236, 240, 257, 260, 263, 268, 272, 275, 276, 278, 283, 290, 296, 301, 307, 328, 342, 411, 430, 449, 468.

*Trant, William*—publicist, took part in the campaign of solidarity with the French Republic—144, 145.

*Trevellick, Richard*—prominent in the American labour movement, member of the National Labour Union and its President (1869-71), was delegated by the Union to the Brussels Congress of the International (1868) but did not attend it; one of the leading contributors to *The Workingman's Advocate*—36.

*Trochu, Louis Jules* (1815-1896) French general and politician, Orleanist, took part in conquering Algeria (1830s-1840s), in the Crimean (1853-56) and Italian (1859) wars; head of the Government of National Defence, Commander-in-Chief of the Paris Armed Forces (September 1870-January 1871), sabotaged the city's defence; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871—356, 357, 364, 369, 372, 407.

*Truelove, Edward* (1809-1899)— London publisher, Chartist, follower of Owen; member of the Reform League and of the Sunday League; published two of the General Council's appeals on the Franco-Prussian war and *The*

*Civil War in France*—63, 65, 94, 202, 268, 307, 320.

U

*Urquhart, David* (1805-1877)—British diplomat, reactionary publicist and politician, Turkofile; exposed the foreign policies of Palmerston and the Whigs—225.

*Utin (Outine), Nikolai* (1845-1883)—Russian revolutionary, disciple of N. G. Chernyshevsky, participant in the student movement, member of the Land and Freedom society; in 1863 emigrated to England and then to Switzerland, one of the organisers of the Russian section of the International in Geneva, member of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) (1868-70) and *Egalité* (1870-71) editorial boards; actively supported Marx and the General Council in their struggle against the Bakuninists; delegate to the London Conference (1871) of the International; in the mid-1870s, upon his return to Russie, left the revolutionary movement—278, 279, 295, 299, 447.

V

*Vaillant, Edouard* (1840-1915)—French socialist, follower of Blanqui, member of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); one of the founders of the Socialist Party of France, subsequently became reformist—252, 255, 257, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 268, 269, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 278, 280, 282, 283, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 296, 297, 299, 305, 307, 309, 449, 468.

*Valentin, Louis Ernest*—French general, Bonapartist; on the eve of the insurrection of March 18, 1871 acted as the prefect of the police—163, 367, 368, 397.

*Vandervelde*—235.

*Varlin, Eugène* (1839-1871)—prominent in the French working-class movement; bookbinder; Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the leaders of the International's sections in France; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; shot by the Versaillists on May 28, 1871—140, 141.

*Vermorel, Auguste* (1841-1871)—French publicist, Proudhonist; member of the Paris Commune, during the street fighting in Paris in May 1871 was heavily wounded and died in captivity—429.

*Vésinier, Pierre* (1826-1902)—French petty-bourgeois publicist, émigré; one of the organisers of the French branch in London; participant in the London Conference of the International in 1865; conducted a slanderous cam-

paign against the General Council, was expelled from it in 1866, and in 1868 was expelled from the International; member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; Secretary of the French Section of 1871, published the newspaper *Fédération* and was a member of the Universal Federalist Council; opposed Marx and the General Council—181, 207.

*Victoria* (1819-1901)—Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain (1837-1901)—131.

*Vinoy, Joseph* (1800-1880)—French general, Bonapartist, participant in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 13th Corps, then the 1st Corps of the 2nd Paris Army, and the 3rd Paris Army; Governor of Paris (from January 22, 1871); one of the hangmen of the Commune, was in command of the Versailles reserve army—161, 367, 368, 370, 372, 373, 375.

*Vogel von Falckenstein, Eduard* (1797-1885)—German general, during the Franco-Prussian war—Governor-General of the seaside regions of Germany—62, 64.

*Vogt, August* (c. 1830-c. 1883)—socialist, prominent in the German and American labour movement; shoemaker; member of the Communist League, participant in the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany: member of the General Association of German Workers; together with Liebknecht opposed Lassalleanism in the German working-class movement; member of the International; in 1867 emigrated to the U.S.A., member of the New York Communist Club, one of the organisers of the International's sections in the U.S.A., correspondent of the General Council; supporter of Marx and Engels—36.

*Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfort National Assembly (1848-49), belonged to the Left wing; one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); in 1849 left Germany; in the 1850s and 1860s was Louis Bonaparte's paid agent, an active participant in the slanderous campaign against revolutionaries—359.

*Voltaire, François Marie* (real name—*Arouet*) (1694-1778)—French deist philosopher, satirist, historian, outstanding representative of bourgeois Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, fought against absolutism and Catholicism—375.

## W

*Wade, Charles*—took part in the republican movement in England—164, 231.

*Wales*, Princess. See *Alexandra*.

*Ward, Osborne*—participant in the American labour move-

ment; engineer; member of the Brooklyn section of the International; was influenced by bourgeois reformists; at the Hague Congress (1872) of the International was elected member of the General Council but he turned it down—52, 53, 54, 55, 87, 147.

*Washburne, Elihu Benjamin* (1816-1887)—American politician and diplomat, belonged to the Republican Party, Ambassador in Paris (1869-77), played a provocative role in relation to the Paris Commune—233, 258, 426-30.

*Watkin, Edward William* (1819-1901)—British manufacturer, Liberal M.P.—261, 262.

*Weber, Ludwig*—German watchmaker; after the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany emigrated to London; follower of Lassalle; member of the German Workers' Educational Association in London; in April 1865 was expelled from this association for intrigues against Marx and his supporters—208.

*Weston, John*—British worker, carpenter; prominent in the British working-class movement; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; one of the leaders of the Land and Labour League; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; active member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference of 1865; member of the British Federal Council—29, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 47, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 67, 73, 74, 99, 100, 104, 105, 106, 109, 118, 119, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 144, 145, 147, 149, 154, 155, 156, 157, 162, 163, 165, 166, 169, 173, 174, 176, 177, 182, 183, 186, 192, 200, 202, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 212, 216, 220, 221, 223, 225, 226, 229, 231, 235, 236, 246, 257, 259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 313, 329, 342, 348, 412, 424, 430, 449, 468.

*Weston*—daughter of John Weston—246.

*Wheatley*—English trade unionist, one of the leaders of the nine-hour movement—235, 240.

*Whetstone, Frederick* (b. 1834)—English trade unionist, President of the Amalgamated Engineers' Society and member of the Reform League; took an active part in the nine-hour movement—252, 255.

*Wierzbicki, Klemens*—Pole by birth; took part in the national insurrection of 1863; participant in the Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England; member of the Polish section in London; tried to found a pro-Bakuninist paper, editor of the newspaper *Nowiny z Wychodźstwa i Kraju*—252.

*Wilhelm I* (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince-Regent

(1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88), German Emperor (1871-88)—82, 90, 131, 334, 402.

*Wilkinson, T. J.*—English worker, engineer; trade unionist, Chairman of the Birmingham Congress of Trade Unions—252.

*Wolff, Luigi*—Italian major, follower of Mazzini; member of the Association of Mutual Progress (London organisation of Italian workers); member of the General Council of the International (1864-65), participant in the London Conference of 1865; in 1871 was exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police—229, 230, 243.

*Wróblewski, Walery* (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, one of the leaders of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64; general of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), active in the struggle against the Bakuninists—291, 292, 307, 391, 450, 469.

## Z

*Zabicki, Anton* (c. 1810-1871 ?)—one of the leaders of the Polish national liberation movement; compositor; left Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49; from 1851, an émigré in England; one of the leaders of the Democratic Association in London; from 1863 on, published *Głos Wolny*—newspaper of the Polish democratic émigrés; Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-71), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71)—99, 100, 286, 329, 342, 430.

*Zhukovsky (Joukowsky), Nikolai* (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist; an émigré in Switzerland, from 1862; Secretary of the Geneva section called the Alliance of Socialist Democracy—447.

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